Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-89-093 *16 May 1989*

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Warsaw Pact To Hold July Meeting in Bucharest

AU1205155889 Paris AFP in English
1541 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Bucharest, May 12 (AFP)—Leaders of the Warsaw Pact, the East European defence organization, are to convene here for their annual summit meeting on July 7 and 8, diplomatic sources said Friday.

Bucharest requested that the Romanian-Hungarian dispute concerning the alleged ill-treatment of Romania's Hungarian minority be put on the agenda of an informal gathering of communist party leaders to be held before the actual summit, sources added.

Romanian leaders are reportedly at loggerheads with some allies over what they consider insufficient support in their ethnic row with Budapest.

Warsaw Pact allies also failed to give full support to Romania in March in a vote by the U.N. human rights commission in Geneva on Romania's forced redeveloping projects in rural areas and its forced assimilation of minorities. A special meeting by party leaders to discuss the dispute would have to be approved by all participants, as the summit agenda has already been fixed.

USSR-GDR Joint Troop Exercise Begins 15 May

LD1505122189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1203 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A joint troop exercise by the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] and the National People's Army of the GDR began on Monday. It is to continue until 21 May 1989 in the Gardelegen, Magdeburg, Brandenburg, Neustrelitz, and Pritzwalk regions. It will involve up to 20,600 members of the fraternal armies and is led by Major General Stanislav Rumyantsev, commander of one of the GSFG armies.

According to the stipulations of the Stockholm document on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe, observers from all the member states have been invited. According to information available, 40 generals, officers, and diplomats from these countries are expected on Tuesday in the exercise area.

GSR's Hager Receives Bloc Ideology Officials

LD2804135989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1748 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] views concern about the well-being of the people as the supreme maxim of its action. The further development of the merits of socialism and their links with the requirements of the scientific-technical revolution constitute a task of the first priority in the shaping of society. This was stressed by SED Politburo member Kurt Hager on Thursday in Berlin during a friendly talk with representatives of delegations from the central committees of fraternal parties in socialist countries. The representatives had taken part in a working meeting of deputy heads of the ideological departments of the central committees.

Hager emphasized that the GDR is making an active contribution to putting into practice the socialist countries' initiatives for securing peace and for further real steps toward disarmament. There must be no standstill in the disarmament question. The SED is determined to deepen its cooperation with the communist and workers' parties of socialist countries in the intellectual-cultural and theoretical-ideological areas, and to promote the exchange of experience. Confronting the campaign of defamation from forces opposed to detente against socialism has special importance in this. On behalf of the fraternal parties Ladislav Skalicky, representative of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, gave thanks for being able to hold an open and comradely dialogue on current ideological questions.

Taking part in the talk were representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Workers Party of Korea, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers Party, the Romanian Communist Party, the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the CPSU, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, and the Communist Party of Vietnam.

Delegation to CEMA Committee Session Departs

LD1505134489 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1231 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 15 (TANJUG)—A Yugoslav delegation headed by government member Branimir Pajkovic left here today to Moscow for the 131st session of the CMEA Executive Committee.

Under an agreement on cooperation with CMEA, the Yugoslav delegation will participate in the work of the committee related to the the examination of proposals for the realization of a complex programme—the scientific and technical progress of the CMEA countries until the year 2000—and participation of Yugoslav firms in some projects, particuarly in the fields of the power industry and biotechnology.

The Yugoslav delegation will also take part in the examination of some other questions on the agenda, with the aim of exchanging information with the other side.

Foto Cami Concludes Official Visit to FRG

Visits Bavarian Parliament

AU1205114289 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Tirana, May 12 (ATA)—In the course of his official and friendly visit to the FRG, the chairman of the Permanent Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly, Comrade Foto Cami, arrived on a visit to the Land of Bavaria on May 11. He was accompanied by the secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Parliament of the FRG, Dr Hans Schwueppe and the ambassador of the PSRA [People's Socialist Republic of Albania] in Bonn, Shpetim Caushi.

On May 11, Comrade Foto Cami paid a visit to the parliament of the Land of Bavaria which had convened for a working session. The first vice president of the Parliament of Bavaria, Siegfried Meslain [name as received] greeted in the name of the parliament of the Land and the president of this parliament, underlining their pleasure for the visit of the chairman of the Permanent Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly of the PSRA. All the deputies stood up and applauded. In honour of the chairman of the Permanent Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly of the PSRA, Comrade Foto Cami, the first vice president of the parliament of the Land, Siegfried Meslain, gave a dinner which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere. Present in the dinner, where addresses were exchanged, were the head of the Protocol Department of the Parliament, Bevud Bremzat [name as received] the head of the Press Department, Joseph Hassler, other political personalities, etc. In his address, Mr Siegfried Meslain said that the Parliament of Bavaria deems as an honour the visit of the chairman of the Permanent Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly of the PSRA.

This visit, he said, will give a new impulse to the cooperation between the Land of Bavaria and Albania. After speaking of the ancient, over two hundred-year links of the German science with the problems of the history of the Albanian language, he stressed that the Parliament of the Land of Bavaria will do its utmost that the relations between our countries develop further more in various fields of cooperation.

Pointing out to the tradition created by the German hosts to bring the Albanian delegations to visit Bavaria, Comrade Foto Cami said that this is significant and it is not linked only with the great weight your Land has in the life and economic, cultural, and political development of the FRG. It mostly has to do with that special place and that role Bavaria has played in the history of the Albanian-German relations which we appreciate.

Further on, Comrade Foto Cami said that contacts and exchanges have been conducted between Bavaria and Albania even prior to the establishment of the diplomatic relations between our two countries. The trade, scientific, cultural exchanges, and political contacts between your Land and our country helped to get better acquainted and closer and to create those suitable conditions for the establishment of the diplomatic relations. We cannot but express on this occasion the consideration for the great role the outstanding personality of Bavaria and the FRG, Franz Josef Strauss has played. He contributed to the establishment and development of the relations between our countries. He came three times to our country and was a friend of Albania. Evaluating the development of the relations between the two countries following the establishment of the diplomatic relations, Comrade Foto Cami said that they open up and create fresh possibilities to expand the links and exchanges in the existing fields and find other fields. Such possibilities are also opened up for the promotion of cooperation between the Land of Bavaria and Albania, especially in the economic-trade field, as an important field of cooperation between us. We hope, Comrade Foto Cami said in conclusion, that our visit to your land will contribute to develop the relations of friendship and cooperation between Bavaria and Albania.

In the context of his visit to the Land of Bavaria, Comrade Foto Cami paid a visit to the Seidel Foundation, where he was received by the secretary general of this institution, Dr Otto Wischoi [name as received], deputy to the parliament. He was acquainted with the activity conducted by this institution and the possibilities of its cooperation with the educational, cultural, and scientific institutions of our country. On May 11 Comrade Foto Cami visited the Goethe Institute which deals with the cultural relations with the other countries. Comrade Foto Cami presented the Goethe Institute with a volume of the Selected Works by the German distinguished writer and poet, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, translated in Albanian and published recently in Albania.

Returns Home After Visit

AU1205184689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Comrade Foto Cami, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly, has returned from an official and friendly visit to the Federal Republic of Germany at the invitation of Hans Stercken, chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the FRG Parliament.

He was welcomed back at the airport by Rita Marko, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Sofokli Lazri, director of the Institute for the Study of International Relations; and others.

Werner Baum, charge d'affaires ad interim of the FRG in Tirana, was also present.

Murati Comments on Visit

AU1605090389 Tirana ATA in English
0730 GMT 16 May 89

["Contribution To Strengthen the Friendly Relations"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 16 (ATA)—Under the above title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries a writing by Shaban Murati, which says among the other things:

Comrade Foto Cami, chairman of the Permanent Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, paid an official and friendly visit to the FR of Germany. In the course of this visit, he met with top personalities of the Parliament and Government. This testifies to the importance the German side attached to this visit which contributed to strengthen the friendly relations and fruitful cooperation between the two countries. A warm and friendly reception was reserved to the chairman of the Permanent Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly both in Bonn and Munich.

What strikes one's eye in every meeting with top personalities of the Parliament and Government of the FRG is the respect for Albania's independent policy. The genuine and fruitful dialogue is composed on mutual equality and respect. Hans Stercken, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the West German Parliament, tells that he has received numerous letters from the electors, expressing their satisfaction over the development of relations with Albania.

The secretary of state at the Ministry of Economy, Riedl, and the Foreign Minister Genscher in their meetings recall indelible impressions and memories of Albania. The latter says among others that the relations with Albania are developing positively and that no political problems exist between Albania and the FR of Germany. They underlined the desire for the further development of the cooperation, especially in the economic field. The foreign minister and vice chancellor of the FRG, Hans Dietrich Genscher, asked Comrade Foto Cami to convey the best greetings and wishes to the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia. On his part, Comrade Foto Cami conveyed to the foreign minister and vice chancellor of the FRG, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the greetings by the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and the best wishes for the people of the FRG of Germany.

The dialogue we are conducting on the relations between the two countries, on the processes occurring in Europe at present, the situation in the Balkans and the national and democratic rights of ethnic populations and minorities, on many other important problems of the international policy, becomes broad and profound. Following the meetings with the top representative of the People's Assembly, the German counterparts form a more complete and clearer idea on our country, and appreciate Albania's analysis and stand for the Balkans and Europe and particularly for the relations with its neighbours, etc.

In the meeting with the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Parliament which discussed among others on the international questions and the Balkans, the chairman of the Parliamentary Faction of the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] party in this commission, Hans Schwartz, addressed Comrade Foto Cami: "We are of the opinion that the stability in the Balkans is not only to the benefit of the peoples of this region, but of the other European countries as well. Your explanations were rather valuable and we reached a complete understanding on what you said of the developments and solution of the problems." The chairman of the Foreign Affairs Group of the Parliamentary Faction of the FDP [Free Democratic Party], Guenther Hoppe, after evaluating the fact that Albania meets 85 percent of the food supply of its population and the efforts for the development of the economy, says that the positive opinions and correct analyses you made helped me a great deal. To speak with one another without prejudices, he stresses, means to have a sincere dialogue." [quotation marks as received] Further on, he says, he is astonished by the care of the Albanian state to preserve the culture of the predecessors and the national and cultural identity. The cultural identity of every people is of great importance and should be preserved.

May 9, the day of the triumph over fascism finds us in the capital of FRG. It is a dark and tragic period in the history of this people, which naturally heavily weighed down on them, just like it did on the other peoples. Undoubtedly, the Albanian people have never mingled the German people with the Hitlerites and Hans Stercken seemed impressed when he said in the dinner he gave in honour of Comrade Foto Cami, that all those present and he were greatly impressed by the difference the Albanian side makes between the colossal contribution of the German people in the history of culture of mankind and the destruction Nazism brought about.

In Bavaria the hosts want to point out in particular to the special character of the relations between the Land of Bavaria and Albania.

We attended a working session of the Parliament of the Land of Bavaria and it was emotional to us when all the deputies stood up and applauded, as soon as the one who presided over the session announced that the Parliament was honoured with his presence by the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Foto Cami.

The top personalities of the land we met with pointed to the common interests and special links between the Albanian people and the Bavarian one.

On this occasion the consideration was expressed on the special merit of the distinguished personality of Bavaria and the FRG, Franz-Josef Strauss, who has played a great role in establishing and developing the relations between our two countries. Siegfried Meslain [name as received] mentions the nearly 200-year-old scientific links between the two countries and underlines that they in Bavaria are very much acquainted with Albania.

In the political dialogue conducted these days in the FR of Germany, the author stresses in conclusion, one can feel the dynamism of our bilateral relations, just as one feels also the need of their further strengthening. And you leave these meetings with the thought that these kinds of contacts and dialogues enhance the dignity of our country.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 5-12 May

AU1205164489

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 5-12 May reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of report given in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee [CC] first secretary, visited the village of Kuc, Vlore District, on 5 May. (1800 GMT 5 May 89) He was in the city of Vlore, where he cast his ballot in the 7 May elections for people's councils, people's courts. (1800 GMT 7 May 89)

Adil Carcani, AWP CC Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Manush Myftiu, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, and Simon Stefani, AWP CC Politburo members; and Kico Mustaqi, Llabi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, and Qirjako Mihali, AWP CC Politburo candidate members, visited families of martyrs in Tirana on 5 May. Adil Carcani "and other party and state leaders" voted in the elections for people's councils and people's courts in Tirana on 7 May. (1800 GMT 7 May 89)

Besnik Bekteshi, AWP CC Politburo member and minister of industry and mines, attended a ceremony on the 30th anniversary of the Marinez Oil Extraction Enterprise, in Fier District, on 5 May. (1800 GMT 5 May 89)

Foto Cami, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary, left for a visit to the Federal Republic of Germany on 8 May. He was seen off at the airport by Rita Marko, AWP CC Politburo member and deputy chairman of the People's Assembly, and by Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs. (1800 GMT 8 May 89)

Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs, received the Ecuadoran ambassador on 10 May in connection with his imminent presentation of credentials. (1800 GMT 10 May 89)

Leaders Deliver Speeches at National Assembly

Mladenov Speaks on Legislation

AU1305164289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 May 89 p 2

[Report on speech by Petur Mladenov, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, read at the 9 May meeting of the 10th session of the Ninth National Assembly]

[Text] The proposed amendments and addenda to the Laws on Bulgarian Citizenship and Foreign Travel Passports, and in the Penal Code, as well as the proposal on a law on amnesty, are first of all a logical consequence of the renewal processes that are taking place in our country. Simultaneously, they are in harmony with the positive changes in Europe and the world, and are up to the international humanitarian standards, Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs and cosponsor of the draft bill on amendments and addenda to the Law on Foreign Travel Passports, said.

Those measure have also been prompted by the political will to implement the provision that was coordinated in Vienna, namely, that all participant countries bring their national legislation fully into line with the international commitments that had been voluntarily assumed. This provision was proposed by the socialist countries and it aims at asserting the supremacy of law in international relations.

In recent years at various international forums such as the United Nations, the all-European process, and so forth, the understanding prevails that the human rights issues are not merely matters within the competence of the individual state, but a subject of international cooperation, regulation, and control. Those issues became a permanent component element of the international activity, including the summit dialogue.

Our activity in this area is aimed at creating a comprehensive system of political and legal guarantees that prevent the violation of citizens' rights and freedoms.

Let me recall the great contribution of the socialist countries to creating progressive and democratic modern international law. Many of them are founders or active participants in creating such fundamental international law documents as the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, international pacts on human rights, and so forth.

I would especially like to note that the Helsinki Final Act and particularly, the documents of the Vienna meeting reproduce many premises of those international documents, to which Bulgaria is a party. Furthermore, Bulgaria actively participated in drafting some of them. This is an additional reason for strictly observing and fully implementing the agreements reached at the forums of the all-European process, including the agreements on the human rights.

The agreements included in the Helsinki Final Act equally bind all states that have signed it, the speaker further said. However, it is well known that such serious violations of human rights, as mass unemployment, homelessness, ban on exercising certain professions, racism, and so forth, exist in some countries which participated in Helsinki, and later on in Vienna. We hope that legislature and practice in those countries will change so as to become fully consistent with the international commitments they have assumed.

When we work for the achievement of our basic goals of renewal, such as further developing socialist humanity, broad democratization of public life, and fully guaranteeing the supremacy of law and justice, we must not forget that we are not merely dealing with our internal affairs, but also with our contribution to forming a uniform civilization and civilized international relations.

We clearly understand that our further activity for constructing Bulgaria as a socialist legal state will not be an easy process. Its implementation already poses important and responsible tasks to various state organs. It is necessary to adopt measures for improving the legal education of our people, enhancing their legal awareness and culture, and training cadres. The need of specialists with legal training increases and will further increase with the process of restructuring society on the basis of law and justice, implementing the economic reform and advancing toward the company-based organization, strengthening international economic integration, and expanding international cooperation in the humanitarian and other areas.

We shall also encounter other difficulties. First of all, there are difficulties with a style that is rooted in a part of our state apparatus, which maintains that the law is always on the side of the state organ, or even on the side of the state employee.

However, if today when we debate our internal legal acts, we stress the influence of the external factor, this is because mutual relation and cooperation between the states' internal and foreign policies clearly emerged in recent years in a new manner, the speaker further said.

The socialist countries approach the issues of human rights and humanitarian cooperation from the positions of the new political thinking and the new approaches toward internal and international problems.

The Vienna meeting is an eloquent expression of the mutual relation between internal and international policies under the new conditions. We have all the reasons

to maintain that 5 years ago it would have been impossible to produce such a final document as the one adopted by the Vienna meeting.

Its results in all areas—political, military, economic, ecological, humanitarian, and cultural—are a unique reflection of the contemporary world's new historical content. They will influence and already are influencing not only the long-range tendencies of East-West relations, but also the renewal of our country. They are a contribution to implementing the idea of the common European home and allow every country to objectively assess the place it deserves in that home, and what is required from it in order to receive its place.

The London Information Forum is taking place at the moment. It opens a new page in the all-European process, the minister of foreign affairs pointed out. The Paris meeting on implementing the concept on the all-European home in the sphere of humanitarian cooperation will begin in a few days. As you all know, an ecological forum will open in Sofia in October.

Europe had the historic mission of destroying the chains of mutual mistrust and fear in East-West relations, making an attempt to overcome its disunity, and creating international relations of a new type, based on cooperation, permeated by the ideas of humanism, equality, and democracy.

The process of multilateral cooperation in the Balkans also finds its place in the general positive tendencies. After the February 1988 Belgrade meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs, the process gradually acquired characteristics of steady development with its own dynamics, which encompasses all areas of cooperation: political, economic, scientific-technical, ecology, and culture, and in humanitarian contacts among people. All-Balkan cooperation is not a small version of the Helsinko process; it also reflects the diversity of relations in our region. It also corresponds to the specific interests and possibilities of cooperation in the Balkans.

The successful development of all-Balkan cooperation contributes to successfully developing Bulgaria's bilateral relations with its neighbors. Relations with certain Balkan states are at such level, that they could serve as an example of good-neighborly relations and cooperation.

As Comrade Todor Zhivkov recently said, Bulgaria is ready to conduct a dialogue with Turkey. It must be a dialogue of understanding, mutual respect, and noninterference in internal affairs.

Life shows that the Balkan problems can and must be solved on the basis of the contemporary realities and the requirement of civilized relations among states.

In conclusion the speaker said: "I would like to stress that the adoption of the proposed legal bills imposes a responsible task on their sponsors—the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Ministry of International Affairs—in anything related to immediately implementing the bills in life and timely noting and taking into consideration the changes which practice will inevitably impose. This activity must completely be subjected to the interests of the citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria."

Stanishev Urges Adoption of Laws

AU1205111389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 May 89 pp 2, 3

[Report on speech by People's Deputy Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, at the 9 May meeting of the 10th session of the Ninth National Assembly]

[Text] People's Deputy Dimitur Stanishev stressed: It has been correctly pointed out that we must adopt amendments and addenda and bring our laws in line with the international norms. All the countries, which participated in the Vienna meeting, voluntarily adopted such an obligation.

Let us recall again the importance of that meeting. The agreement reached in Vienna to further strengthen security and cooperation in Europe is a fundamentally new factor in postwar history and a starting point in asserting new norms of contacts among states. It is based on the new historic content, the new tendencies in world development, and the new political thinking.

Our road is one of opening toward the world and open doors for progressive cooperation with all, and in every areas. In this context, only the observance of international norms and the implementation of the obligations assumed in Vienna are guarantees of our country's full-fledged and stable participation in the world and all-European process.

Let me recall what our country has experience in this area, as well as our reasons to be proud. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has done and is doing much to assert a climate of good-neighborly relations in the Balkans and establishing new norms of behavior and relations between the Balkan states with a firmly agreed upon legal basis. The recent Bulgarian-Greek summit was a new proof of this. This is our firm political line, and we shall develop, enrich, and expand it, the speaker further said.

Saying all this does not mean that we underestimate our fraternal relations with the socialist countries, first of all with the USSR. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov again stressed at the recent plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], our cooperation with them will always have a basic place, however, it must be elevated to a qualitatively new level, in line with the new dimensions and content of the process of restructuring itself.

Why are proposing these amendments in our laws precisely at this moment? The implementation of the Vienna obligations is just one part of the answer to this question.

The processes of revolutionary restructuring in our country, the USSR, and other socialist countries require us to thoroughly think over our comprehensive activity and approaches, and bring them in line with the new processes of world development and the new historic content. Simultaneously, we must soberly assess which of the past approaches have exhausted their role, and rid ourselves of them. Precisely these wisdom and courage are most characteristic of the July Concept, which reveal broad horizon for human activity.

For decades the BCP has closely connected its activity with the struggle for social justice and the defense of human rights, and today, as a social political vanguard, implements restructuring in all areas. Thus, the BCP is the guarantor of strengthening the process of democratization and constructing the civil society under the new conditions in our country.

It is precisely the party rather than certain self-appointed fighters for human rights, as the proposed draft bills show, that initiates restructuring in the sphere of legal superstructure, and guarantees its consistent implementation.

Therefore, I deem it correct to say that the proposed amendments to our laws are the logical result of our internal development, and without denying their relation to the present stage of the all-European process, they merely coincide in time with that process.

One of our most important tasks today is to develop the concept of civic sense as a main link between the new political thinking and the individual, the speaker further said. Mutual relation between the new political thinking and the civic sense is implemented along the whole world-state-class-nations-citizens chain. Excluding or underestimating any of these individual links would impoverish the content of the new political thinking, or even render it meaningless. If we excluded the whole world, it would mean that we would remain, as I already said, out of the world processes, development, and culture. On the other hand, if we arbitrarily excluded the motherland, state, class, and nation, as seemingly unnecessary mediators in human relations, we would create a false model of "citizens of the world," in which the global awareness, detached from its historic and patriotic elements, would become a meaningless abstraction.

A real civic sense is a synthesis of national and universal principles, a living unity of the motherland's patriots, who respect the rights of other peoples and states.

From a political point of view, those documents could be described as advanced, and as the essence of the law-governed state.

Finally, there is the practical aspect. It is well known that there is certain concern, that a mass movement of Bulgarian citizens abroad will begin with the adoption of the new draft bills. Is this concern justified?

The people's proverb says: "If you afraid of the wolf, do not go into the forest." We have firmly decided to stay in the forest, in the international community. The question is, have all possible consequences been prudently assessed?

Let us begin with the fact that the repeal of Articles 280 and 281 of the Penal Code will facilitate the restoration of contact with those Bulgarians, who now are abroad, thus violating the hitherto regulations. The existing laws in our country create a negative and hostile attitude toward the Bulgarian state among those people, which turns then into an appropriate target of ideological influence on the part of the hostile emigration and the special Western services.

In addition, the repeal of the criminal persecution for failing to return within a fixed period, will deprive those Bulgarian citizens, who intend to settle abroad, of the legal ground for claiming political asylum, or an accelerated procedure in obtaining permission for permanent or temporary residence, or in obtaining foreign citizenship. Under the new provision, these people will be treated only as economic emigrants, and as such will become subject to a difficult procedure, which cannot be easily overcome, and which aims at limiting the influx of excessive manpower in the developed capitalist states.

The practice of some socialist countries shows that in recent years after they liberalized their procedure of leaving the country, their citizens, illegally staying abroad, return much more frequently to their motherland, because the relevant Western countries refuse to grant them permission to stay.

At the same time recent statistics show that the first to receive political asylum in Western countries are the citizens of those states, whose laws envisage harsh sanctions for illegal stays abroad.

However, this is not everything. By guaranteeing the right to travel abroad to all, the state, on the basis of the proposed draft bills, has all possibilities to defend its interests and the interests of society. As the text of the draft bills shows, the right to leave the country can be limited because of considerations related to state security, public order, the population's health and morals, and the rights of other citizens. These limitations are fully in line with the Vienna document and all other human rights documents. The fact that those limitations have the character of exceptions which cannot be misused or arbitrarily applied, is the main and new element. The law must be a universal measure for every man, for entire society.

On behalf of the BCP Parliamentary Group in the National Assembly I express total support of the draft laws proposed to the National Assembly for adoption, the speaker said in conclusion.

Internal Minister Interviewed on New Passports
AU1105195789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 May 89 p 2

[Interview with Georgi Tanev, minister of internal affairs, by unnamed RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporters, on Amendments and Addenda to the Foreign Travel Passports Law, submitted to the 10th Session of the Ninth National Assembly held on 9 and 10 May 1989—date, place not given]

[Text] [RABOTNICHESKO DELO] The currently valid Law on Foreign Travel Passports adopted in 1969 and the code on applying this law guaranteed the Bulgarian citizens the right to travel to other countries. What was the reason for the proposed amendments and addenda?

[Tanev] Under the new conditions certain requirements of this law proved unnecessary because of their restrictive nature. The amendments in question can be evaluated as a new law, since they represent a comprehensive and most democratic method of resolving and guaranteeing the Bulgarian citizens' rights of leaving the country and returning to it, as well of as of staying in foreign countries.

The consistent implementation of our country's policy related to the conscientious observance of Bulgaria's international commitments in the human rights sphere should be guaranteed by permanently adapting our domestic legislation to our international obligations.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Does this mean that regulations related to Bulgarian citizens traveling abroad will be facilitated?

[Tanev] They will be facilitated considerably. In accordance with the Pact on Civil and Political Rights, with the final documents of the Vienna Conference, and with international documents which Bulgaria has signed, Article 1 of the Law On Foreign Travel Passports stipulates that every Bulgarian citizen is entitled to leave the country and to return, as well as to establish his temporary, or permanent residence in a foreign country. This right shall not be restricted except by the Law on the Defense of National Security, by the laws on public order, national health, and moral behavior, and the laws on the rights and freedoms of fellow-citizens.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] It is evident that the law in question will publicly proclaim this right after it has been adopted....

[Tanev] This right shall not only be publicly announced, but the amendments will guarantee the accurate and legal application of this law by the citizens. Every Bulgarian who wishes to obtain a foreign travel passport will receive one. It will be valid for all countries of the world and will be granted for a 5-year period with the possibility of prolongation. The ordinary foreign travel passport will remain with its owner.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Will this involve any changes in the situation of Bulgarian citizens living abroad?

[Tanev] The draft law contains a fundamentally new principle which provides that, as a general rule, all Bulgarian citizens permanently living abroad should also be granted a Bulgarian passport. This will enable them, freely and without any restrictions, to visit their native country and to stay there, as long as they wish.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Are any restrictions envisaged in connection with issuing foreign travel passports?

[Tanev] The new regulations exclude any possibility of refusing the issuing of such passports, or exit visas for subjective reasons. The evaluation shall be made solely on the basis of the law, where the reasons for the refusal of issuing a passport are clearly stated and described in detail. I would like to point out that these reasons are by no means categorical, but just make such an action possible. If the organs dealing with the issue of passports consider it expedient, they are authorized to issue passports, despite the existence of some of the aforementioned reasons. This approach guarantees the citizens' rights to travel abroad in the most democratic manner. In addition to this, the issue and prolongation of passports for citizens living abroad may be refused only in exceptional cases and as a temporary measure, if our country's security should be directly affected.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Numerous citizens complain about prolonged waiting for the issuing of their passports.

[Tanev] Strictly established and considerably shortened deadlines for the issuing of passports have been introduced and the competent organs are now instructed promptly to examine and deal with citizens' applications for passports. In the future, foreign travel passports for private use shal' be issued within 1 month, and even within 3 days, in urgent cases.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Nevertheless, it happens that the issuing of a passport may be refused. What are the citizens' rights in such cases?

[Tanev] In case of citizens being refused the issue of a passport, or an exit visa, they shall be informed in writing about the specific and legal grounds for this decision. They shall be entitled to contest the refusal either through administrative channels, or by taking legal action. This is a correct method of totally guaranteeing the citizens' protection in case of their rights related to foreign travel should be violated.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Can you describe the reasons for depriving a citizen from a passport that has already been issued to him?

[Tanev] The deliberate confiscation, or restrictive measures concerning the validity of a passport is excluded. It has been expressly stipulated that such action may be taken only on the basis of the grounds for which the issue of a passport shall be refused. Once the reasons for refusing the passport have been eliminated, the passport shall be returned to the citizen in question, or the validity of the passport shall be prolonged.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] So far, the Penal Code has been applied in cases of citizens who did not return to the country within a given period. Does the draft law propose any essential changes in this respect?

[Tanev] If the proposals should be accepted, such actions will be defined as administrative violations and shall be sanctioned with fines amounting to 500 leva. In case the citizen does not return within 2 years, the fine shall be increased to 1,000 leva.

I would like to point out that by de-criminalizing Articles 280 and 281 of the Penal Code and as a result of the Amnesty Draft Law that has been submitted, citizens, who have left the country without permission and have not returned to this date, are entitled to return without being subjected to any legal action.

Other amendments and addenda are proposed in connection with eliminating certain formalities and considerably reducing the number of documents required in connection with the issuance of passports and exit visas.

If these proposals should be adopted by the National Assembly they will considerably contribute to the improvement of our legal system and will better guarantee the interests of our socialist society, as well as the Bulgarian citizens' rights and legitimate interests. By more widely opening up to the world, our country will even more actively participate in the universal human struggle for peace and understanding among people on our planet.

Daskalova Queried on Citizenship Amendments

AU1105180789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 May 89 p 2

[Interview with Minister of Justice Svetla Daskalova by an unnamed RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporter on amendments to laws on Bulgarian citizenship, amendments to the Penal Code, and to the Amnesty Law, submitted to the 10th Session of the Ninth National Assembly held on 9 and 10 May in Sofia—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] Minister of Justice Svetla Daskalova spoke on the draft laws for amendments and addenda to the Law on Bulgarian Citizenship, on amendments to the Penal Code, and to the Amnesty Law.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Comrade Daskalova, you are co-sponsor of the aforementioned amendments. Could you describe them in most general terms?

[Daskalova] The new laws which were just submitted to the National Assembly for discussion are an integral part of the new model of socialist society and a specific response to our international commitments in the humanitarian sector for cooperation among nations and mutual contacts among people. They are a confirmation of democracy in our society by expanding the Bulgarian citizens' rights and freedoms and adapting our legislation and legal system to the new political thinking.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Dealing with the Law on Bulgarian Citizenship—what exactly is new and more democratic about this law compared with that of the past?

[Daskalova] So far, the law has recognized only one citizenship. According to that law a Bulgarian citizen could accept foreign citizenship, only after being released from his Bulgarian citizenship, otherwise the citizen in question was deprived of his Bulgarian citizenship, which involved sanctions related to his property. On the other hand, foreigners were granted Bulgarian citizenship, only under the condition of renouncing their previous citizenship. [passage omitted]

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] In the past, some people were practically forced to renounce their Bulgarian citizenship in order to accept a foreign one....

[Daskalova] This is, precisely, what happened. It applies to women, married to foreigners, in particular. This aspect of our law was really not in accordance with the principles of humanitarianism and democracy, because people, were forced, against their will, to severe relations with their native country. For this reason, the proposed amendments stipulate that people who have adopted foreign citizenship, without renouncing their Bulgarian citizenship, will not be subjected to sanctions depriving them of Bulgarian citizenship and confiscating their property. [passage omitted]

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Can you tell us in which cases the sanction of depriving someone of his Bulgarian citizenship is applied?

[Daskalova] This is a very severe sanction, because it means to deprive someone of his homeland. The past law listed seven reasons justifiying this sanction. The present draft law envisages only one reason—namely a severe crime against the People's Republic, such as high treason, treason, espionage, diversion, and sabotage. [passage omitted]

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] According to the submitted amendments to the Penal Code, articles 280 and 281 of the Penal Code are revoked. What is the reason for these amendments?

[Daskalova] Articles 280 and 281 of the Penal Code provided sanctions against the so-called crime of "no return" which envisaged prison sentences for those people who, without any valid reasons, refused to return to the country after the expiration of their permit to stay abroad. This sanction turned out to be a serious obstacle for people who wished to return to their home country because they were afraid of punishment. The amendments shall de-criminalize such actions, which in the future will be treated as violations subject to fines amounting to 500 leva for people who do not return within 3 months, after their permit for staying abroad has expired, and to 1,000 leva for those who have not returned within 2 years. This amendment conforms with the draft law on foreign travel passports and is in the spirit of the Vienna agreements. [passage omitted]

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] One last question, which would interest our readers. Since the violations described in articles 280 and 281 of the Penal Code are no longer considered crimes, why is not the same measure applied to Article 279 of the Penal Code, according to which citizens are committing a crime by illegally leaving the country?

[Daskalova] Article 279 shall not be amended, because citizens who leave the country without a legal permit are violating the border regulations and are thus endangering the country's security and its public order.

These crimes, however, shall be covered by the Amnesty Law, if the citizen in question has already returned, or is willing to return to his native country, on a voluntary basis. The same applies to the act of preparing and attempting illegal escape described in Article 279 of the Penal Code.

Zhivkov, Atanasov Congratulate CSSR Leaders

AU1305162889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 May 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent the following the telegram to Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], to Gustav Husak, CSSR president, and to CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec:

Dear comrades, on behalf of all working people in our country, the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, we convey our most sincere congratulations and best wishes to the fraternal Czechoslovak people on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation.

Following the historic victory over fascism on 9 May 1945, the CSSR achieved remarkable successes in its comprehensive development.

We are convinced that the processes of renewal currently underway in your country under the CPCZ leadership, will even more fully reveal the real potential of socialism and even further promote the living standard of the contemporary individual, as well as the opportunities for an extensive development of his social assets.

As an indivisible part of the socialist community, the CSSR actively contributes to the peace-loving efforts of the Warsaw Pact states, aimed at the consolidation of new political thinking in international relations and at the establishment of a world, free of weapons and violence.

It is with a feeling of deep gratification that we point out the historical traditions and the unshakable strength of friendship between our two fraternal peoples, the unanimity of ideas, and the understanding between the BCP and the CPCZ, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the CSSR.

On the occasion of your national holiday, we wish peace, prosperity, and well-being to the fraternal Czechoslovak people, and further upsurge to socialist Czechoslovakia.

Atanasov Invited To Visit Algeria 23-25 May

AU1405182089 Sofia BTA in English 1602 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Sofia, May 14 (BTA)—At the invitation of Algeria's Prime Minister Mr Kasdi Merbah, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria Mr Georgi Atanasov, will visit Algeria from May 23 through May 25, 1989.

Mladenov, Loncar Conclude 'Working Meeting'

AU0605202289 Sofia BTA in English 1743 GMT 6 May 89

[Text] Sofia, May 6 (BTA)—This morning in Bregovo (north-western Bulgaria), Mr Petur Mladenov, foreign affairs minister of Bulgaria, and Mr Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs of Yugoslavia, opened the new border control checkpoint Bregovo-Negotin.

After the opening ceremony Minister Mladenov said that over the past years relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are developing in the right direction. "Constant work should be done and special attention should be rendered for friendship and good-neighbourliness. The two countries' governments are steadily engaged in the course of good-neighbourliness," he said.

Mr Budimir Loncar pointed out that Yugoslavia and Bulgaria have well-developed neighbourly and friendly relations. And this is important for the development of friendship and cooperation between the Balkan peoples.

Further on there was a working meeting between the two countries' foreign affairs ministers. They exchanged opinions related to the individual aspects of Bulgaro-Yugoslavian relations. All issues were considered which have essential importance for the future development of mutually advantageous cooperation between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Budimir Loncar gave a favourable assessment of the state of relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and said that over the last years a lasting trend of stable and upward development was established in them. It was said that they are becoming ever more intensive and embrace all spheres of the socio-political and economic life.

During the talks the two sides spoke of the essential place in the political relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia of the relations between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Budimir Loncar highly assessed the expansion and deepening of relations between Bulgaria and the separate republics of Yugoslavia, and mainly of the neighbourly Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, and expressed their governments' readiness to encourage their development in future, too.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Budimir Loncar concluded that lately, as a result of the establishment of the new political thinking, tangible positive changes have taken place in the international political climate. The constructive elements in the East-West dialogue have increased and confrontation on a global scale has reduced.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Budimir Loncar note with satisfaction that over the past years, favourable trends are observed in relations between the Balkan states. Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have significant contribution in this respect. The ministers stressed once again their countries' readiness to develop and encourage multilateral Balkan negotiations, the beginning of which was made in Belgrade with the meeting between the Balkan states foreign affairs ministers. The Bulgarian side confirmed the high estimation of the role of Yugoslavia in the starting of this process.

A high assessment was made and support was expressed to all initiatives, directed at the encouragement of the all-Balkan process and the positive role was stressed of the idea of turning of the Balkans into a nuclear- and chemical-weapons-free zone.

Mr Petur Mladenov gave a dinner in the honour of his colleague Budimir Loncar.

He held a toast speech and said that after analysing the results of Bulgaro-Yugoslavian cooperation we made the conclusion that over the last years it marked a steady advance. This trend should be favourably assessed. But according to us, and we hope that according to you, too, the achievements cannot satisfy us, as they do not correspond neither to the possibilities nor to the interests of the two countries. What is necessary for Bulgaro-Yugoslavian relations is an intensive and constructive dialogue, accompanied by energetic and productive initiatives, which will raise our cooperation to a qualitatively new level.

Mr Mladenov dwelled on certain aspects of the international life.

We are all greeting the agreements reached at the Vienna meeting. And now the time of check has come. From now on the way of the negotiations for reduction of the armed forces and the conventional weapons and on the measures of strengthening of confidence and security as well as of the other forums, determined in the Vienna Final Document, will be the only judge of the true intentions and aims of the countries represented there.

We have many a time had an occasion to mark with satisfaction the role of Yugoslavia in the encouragement of multilateral cooperation in the Balkans as a host of the first meeting of the Balkan states foreign affairs ministers. Being convinced that this cooperation corresponds to the true interests of the Balkan peoples, Bulgaria will also contribute to its improvement, Mr Mladenov said.

"Our talks," said Mr Budimir Loncar, "confirm that it is good to have regular meetings between representatives of the two neighbourly countries. I believe that we have a common aim to outline the possibilities and ways for further development of bilateral relations and to establish the needed atmosphere of mutual understanding, confidence and good-neighbourliness, with the help of a constructive dialogue. Yugoslavia has a lasting interest to have good and friendly relations with neighbouring Bulgaria and to develop them in all spheres. We can say that cooperation between the two countries is developing favourably and in certain aspects it has marked a substantial advance.

After indicating that the Belgrade meeting of the Balkan states foreign affairs ministers opened a new page in the history of relations between the Balkan states, Mr Budimir Loncar said: "A meeting of that kind as well as the fulfillment of the numerous agreements during the surveyed period are an expression of the wish to preserve for the future and to the develop the spirit of Belgrade. "This proves that the differences in the socio-political orientation and in the international situation in the Balkan states are not a burden to multilateral cooperation in the region." [quotes as received]

Of course we should not be satisfied with what has been achieved and it is necessary in future, too, to work for the fulfillment of all these elements that bind us, and at the same time to improve and bring to an up-to-date level our cooperation.

The two ministers met with Bulgarian and Yugoslavian journalists.

"We are unanimous that relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are on the upsurge. We also agree that in future, too, we should deepen our relations and have meetings at various levels, top level included, and also deepen our economic cooperation," Mr Budimir Loncar said.

"Our talks were extremely frank and useful," said Mr Petur Mladenov. "The conclusions we made will help us to improve further the dialogue. It is a fact that in the past years we have extended relations between representatives of the parties, governments and social organizations. Today we came to the common conclusion that no matter how good our relations are they can nevertheless improve further. That is why, in future, we will work to the interest of the two countries' peoples."

Editorial Views Talks

AU1305164089 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 9 May 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Favorable Prospects for Good Neighbors"]

[Text] Petur Mladenov and Budimir Loncar, the ministers of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, met at the end of last week at the border between the two countries in order to reaffirm the ascending development of good-neighborly relations and cooperation between their two countries.

The opening of the Negotin-Bregovo checkpoint was a pleasant opportunity for the most recent traditional meeting between the diplomatic leaders of the two states. This checkpoint is a new door of friendship opened to prove the fact that a border not only serves as a separation of our two peoples from each other, but also contributes to the establishment of closer contacts between them.

The two ministers agreed on the evaluation of the positive state of bilateral relations and of the favorable prospects existing for the further development of these relations.

Comrade Petur Mladenov expressed our country's firm resolve to pursue its efforts to further the ascending development of good-neighborly relation between Bulgaria and the SFRY. He stressed that the Bulgarian party and state leadership is ready to do everything within its power to develop mutual relations along ascending lines as it is appropriate for relations between two friendly socialist countries and two fraternal peoples.

Budimir Loncar, in turn, described the bilateral relations between Bulgaria and the SFRY as very friendly and stable, as relations which are involved in a process of upsurge. He stressed: We will strive for a future summit meeting, we will not only speed up our dialogue, but also our cooperation on questions related to the Balkans, to Europe, and to the United Nations community.

The Yugoslav daily POLITIKA expressed the interest of the Yugoslav public in intensifying friendship and cooperation between the two countries, by citing Loncar's statement that Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations could serve as a model of good-neighborliness and even become a remarkable factor in the stabilization process in the Balkans and in Europe. We fully agree with this assessment.

Bulgarian-Yugoslav cooperation should be given vast opportunities to expand, and we should open our doors wide to this cooperation, because, although it marked consistent progress in recent years, the successes of our cooperation have not yet attained the level of the two countries possibilities and interests. Numerous unexploited fields of activities still exist in all spheres of life and they should be taken advantage of. The economic sector, for example, represents an immense reservoir of untapped opportunities—starting with trade and ending with modern forms of cooperation, such as production sharing, specialization, joint investments in large building projects, establishment of custom-free zones, and others. The spheres of culture, science, tourism, and communications are no less promising in this respect.

Nevertheless, bilateral relations are a matter of human affairs and regardless of how successful they are, regardless of the level of their development, there are permanent opportunities for these relations to further improve, and become even more perfect. The better these relations are, the more effectively they will conform with the interests of both the Bulgarian and the Yugoslav people, with the interests of all Balkan nations. Bulgaria highly estimates Yugoslavia's role in stimulating multilateral cooperation in the Balkans as a host country to the first meeting of foreign affairs ministers from Balkan states. Guided by the belief that this cooperation conforms with the basic interests of all Balkan peoples, our country also actively contributes to the intensification of this process. The idea of turning the Balkans into a zone, free of nuclear weapons, which both countries support, truly reflects this approach.

All-Balkan cooperation is gradually turning into an element of primary importance in the dynamic, political panorama of our region and is being increasingly consolidated. In its present state this mulitlateral cooperation not only represents a result of the process initiated in Helsinki, but also contributes to the development of this process. The consolidation of good-neighborly relations and cooperation in the Balkans is a common contribution of the Balkan nations to the positive trends developing all over Europe and throughout the world.

It was again confirmed during the talks held between Petur Mladenov and Budimir Loncar that Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are willing to join their efforts, in cooperation with all Balkan peoples, and to pursue these efforts so that their

mutual relations may develop in the spirit of common, positive trends on a worldwide scale. As regards the basic problems discussed between the two ministers, the two sides expressed views that can be defined as identical, or close to each other. As to certain issues, such as the question of peace, security, cooperation, and disarmament, their stands are similar. This fact represents a solid basis for cooperation between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia on the international scene, for their real contribution to the solution of universal problems. It is also a solid basis for the development of mutual relations between our two countries and for good-neighborliness and cooperation in the Balkans. As a matter of fact, cooperation and good-neighborly relations on our peninsula are the main goal of our country's Balkan policy, which is principle-minded, consistent, active and peace-loving, and not subjected to any opportunistic considerations.

Ovcharov Makes 2-Day Working Visit to Berlin
AU1205184889 Sofia BTA in English
1743 GMT 12 May 89

["Bulgaria, G.D.R. Coordinate Economic Development Plans"—BTA headline]

[Text] Berlin, May 12 (BTA correspondent)—The tasks of coordinating the 1991-1995 economic development plans of Bulgaria and the GDR were high on the agenda of the two-day working visit which Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of the economy and planning, paid to Berlin. At his talks with Mr Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission, the sides emphasized that the results achieved so far provide a good basis for the expansion of the mutually advantageous economic ties between the two countries.

The sides agreed on a working programme for the coordination of the economic development plans in view of upgrading cooperation to a qualitatively new level. The sides favour a vigorous promotion of their trade exchanges and of a continued use of the established forms of cooperation and specialisation and of the traditional business contacts, as well as team work in new areas.

At the meeting they held today, Mr Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Mr Stoyan Ovcharov assessed in positive terms the successful promotion of bilateral cooperation and called for enhanced interaction in the priority areas of the long-term programme for bilateral cooperation up to the year 2000: high technologies and new materials. An emphasis was laid on the importance of specialisation and cooperation in mechanical engineering, electronics, electrical engineering and the chemical industry.

Lukanov, Danchev Talks at Plovdiv Fair Reported
AU1105184889 Sofia BTA in English
1800 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Plovdiv, May 11 (BTA)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, received a delegation of the Soviet Union, led by Mr Nikolay Panichev, minister of machine-tool and instrument making industry. Bulgaro-Soviet cooperation in the development of machine tools, robots and automation equipment was high on the agenda.

Bulgarian and Yugoslav businessmen held a meeting on the fair grounds today. They discussed the opportunities for wider cooperation in the production and trade in consumer goods. It was pointed out that the steady progress of bilateral economic relations has emerged as an established tendency over the last few years and that the economic reforms underway in the two countries contribute to this. The sides considered the opportunities for the establishment of jointly administered Bulgaro-Yugoslav free trade zones, for wider cross-border trade, for setting up of a mixed Bulgaro-Yugoslav consortium in agriculture, the food industry and the related technological and marketing infrastructure. Partners of the two countries signed trade contracts to the approximate value of 18 million foreign currency leva and a programm for the activation and cooperation between the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Economic Chamber of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Today Bulgarian companies signed import and export contracts to the total value of over 90 million leva.

Plovdiv International Spring Fair Ends 14 May
AU1405183789 Sofia BTA in English
1755 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Sofia, May 14 (BTA)—About 60 per cent of the area of the Plovdiv Fair which ended today was engaged by 30 thousand exponents of the Bulgarian "Industry for Man" Association and 25,000 out of them were new products.

To the joint production with Adidas, Puma, Elcho, AEG of the FRG, Rindleborn and Lee Cooper of Great Britain, Riorda and Cose di Lana of Italy—traditional partners of the Bulgarian light industry, at the fair were added agreements and contracts for production and technological cooperation in Bulgaria with the Austrian company Triumph, for exchange of sports goods with the Polish Sports Association—Polsport and with a number of others. This proves that the orientation toward opening of the Bulgarian economy to the world has a strategic character and not a conjuncture one. This is also proved by the record number of foreign companies that attended the Plovdiv Fair—over 1600. Projects for joint work between the Bulgarian Industry for Man Association and

organizations from the USSR in the sphere of leather, knitted wear and tailoring industry, in the production of glass, were also discussed in detail in Plovdiv.

The Plovdiv Fair became also a tribune for activation of the business contacts in the Balkans—a Bulgarian-Greek Working Group on Industrial Cooperation was established, an agreement for cooperation between the Bulgarian and Albanian Chambers of Commerce was signed, agreements for industrial and trade cooperation between Bulgarian and Yugoslavian companies were signed.

129 exponents were awarded—52 Bulgarian and 77 foreign—of the USSR, FRG, Italy, China and other countries. Initiative was the fact that among the producers of lamps only the Bulgarian private "Golden Apple" Company was awarded. In its production: lighting fixtures with original decorative elements of apple wood, partners of the United States and Japan display interest. Private-collective or personal Bulgarian companies took part in the Plovdiv Fair for the first time this year.

Politburo Decision on Celebrating 24 May Issued

AU1105200889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] A decision of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Politburo on celebrating 24 May, the Day of Slavonic Letters and Bulgarian Education and Culture, has been issued for publication.

It is an ancient and patriotic tradition of our people, the decision states, that they express deep respect and gratitude to the majestic achievement of the brothers Kiril and Methodius, and their pupils and followers. For more than one century the Bulgarian people, with legitimate feelings of national pride, have been celebrating their achievement on 24 May as one of the brightest dates in the intellectual advance of "our native land."

In modern Bulgaria, this day has become a festival of Slavonic letters and Bulgarian education and culture, and reflects the upsurge of the socialist homeland, the striving for knowledge and progress, and the contribution of the treasures of Slavonic culture to universal human civilization.

In the spirit of the party strategy for in-depth restructuring and renewal of socialist society, 24 May is celebrated without outward displays and show. Throughout the country, spontaneous, uninhibited initiatives take place, organized by the schools and teachers, the creative workers and figures of culture and science, and all workers in the intellectual field. Many citizens, teachers, schoolchildren, and social organizations offer new ideas and initiatives that enrich and develop one of the most Bulgarian festivals.

The national character and the unfading traditions of 24 May, which are deeply embedded in the Bulgarian people's consciousness, it is stated later in the decision, turn the festival into a patriotic impetus for the intellectual renewal and unification of our socialist nation.

In connection with this, the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee considers it necessary that 24 May should be celebrated also in the future in accordance with the July Concept on further constructing socialism and on conducting deep changes in the attributes of power. Supporting the proposals of social and cultural organizations, schools, and citizens, general demonstrations of schoolchildren, creative workers and figures of education, culture and science should be organized on 24 May.

Confidence is voiced that the schools and the cultural and scientific institutes and organizations will stage original, highly stirring initiatives and manifestations devoted to the eternal cause of the first teachers of Slavonic letters, their Bulgarian pupils and followers, and the champions of our peoples's revival, whose cause earned the respect of our people, and to all those who contribute to building up Bulgaria as a state, with its substantial contribution to international culture and intercourse, and will give deserved recognition to the noble mission of the Bulgarian teachers and the creative workers and figures of culture and science.

The demonstrations, processions, folk festivals, mass performances of the various arts, by amateur artistic groups, and sporting events should stress the unique, special nature of the holiday, and the unity of the Bulgarian intelligentsia, deeply linked with the people and the historic cause of the Bulgarian Communist Party, it is stated in the decision of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 4-12 May

AU1205194389

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the 4-12 May monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and chairman of the State Council, with Andrey Lukanov in attendance, opened the Spring International Fair in Plovdiv on 8 May. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0630 GMT 8 May 89)

Todor Zhivkov, Georgi Atanasov, and other unspecified leaders attended the opening of the 10th session of the Ninth National Assembly in Sofia on 9 May. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1200 GMT 9 May 89)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, made an introductory speech at the BCP Central Committee on Agriculture in Sofia on 4 May, (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 May 89) and also made a concluding speech to the plenum on 5 May. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 May 89 p 1) In Sofia on 10 May, Zhivkov spoke on the final day of the Ninth Assembly session. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 May 89 p 1)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in Sofia on 10 May Nikolay Panichev, minister of the machine tool and tool building industry of the USSR. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 10 May 89) In Sofia on 11 May he received Abdullah Bader Danuk, Iraqi minister of agriculture and irrigation. (Sofia BTA in English 1235 GMT 11 May 89)

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and a BCP delegation held talks in Beijing on 9 May with Liao Hansheng, chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the National People's Congress of China. (Sofia BTA in English 1128 GMT 9 May 89) In Beijing on 10 May Balev was received by CPC General Secretary Zhao Ziyang. (Sofia BTA in English 1747 GMT 10 May 89) On 11 May Balev and his delegation departed from Beijing. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 11 May 89)

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, attended a wreath-laying ceremony at the Soviet Army Memorial in Sofia on 9 May to mark the 45th anniversary of the victory over fascist Germany. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 9 May 89)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, opened a new border crossing checkpoint on 6 May at Bregovo, on the border with the SFRY, (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 6 May 89) and later the same day lunched and held talks with SFRY Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar. (Sofia BTA in English 1743 GMT 6 May 89) In Sofia on 9 May Mladenov spoke at the National Assembly session. (Sofia BTA in English 1721 GMT 9 May 89)

Dimitur Stoyanov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended the National Assembly session in Sofia on 9 May at which he was unanimously elected a member of the State Council. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 9 May 89)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, received in Plovdiv on 11 May a Soviet delegation led by Nikolay Panichev, minister of the machine tool and tool building industry of the USSR. (Sofia BTA in English 1800 GMT 11 May 89)

Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of planning and economy, made a speech in Sofia on 4 May at the BCP Central Committee plenum on agriculture. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 May 89 pp 2, 3) In Sofia on 8 May he took part in a press conference on the new draft laws to be discussed at the 10th session of the National Assembly. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 8 May 89)

Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee, made a speech in Sofia on 4 May on the first day of the BCP Central Committee plenum on agriculture. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 May 89 p 5) In Sofia on 12 May he received Prince Konzin Mosheshe, a Nigerian businessman and chairman of the newly formed Bulgarian-Nigerian Chamber of Commerce. (Sofia BTA in English 1353 GMT 12 May 89)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture, science, and education, received in Sofia on 8 May a delegation of the France-Bulgaria Society led by Robert Chambeillron, member of the European Parliament. (Sofia BTA in English 1749 GMT 8 May 89)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received in Sofia on 5 May Naddim Abdel Samad, deputy secretary general of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party. (Sofia BTA in English 1937 GMT 5 May 89) In Sofia on 9 May he spoke at the 10th session of the Ninth National Assembly. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 May 89 pp 2, 3)

Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, made a speech at the BCP Central Committee plenum in Sofia on 4 May. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 May 89 pp 3, 4)

Hungarian Suspension of Dam Project Protested

Official Protest to Ambassador

LD1505191489 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes today received Miklos Barity, ambassador of the People's Republic of Hungary, and briefed him on the federal government statement on the decision of the Hungarian Government to immediately suspend work for 2 months on the Nagymaros section of the joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian water projects on the Danube, which is being constructed on the basis of an agreement between Czechoslovakia and Hungary on the construction and operation of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project, beginning 16 September 1977. This unilateral step of the Hungarian Government means in practice that the implementation of the agreement has been halted, and this represents a threat to the whole plan. The Czechoslovak side, in the course of construction of the water projects, has been proceeding consistently from the agreement and follow-up agreement documents, and has been cooperating closely with the Hungarian side. Furthermore, on an Hungarian initiative, on 6 February 1989, a protocol, on the basis of which the construction is to be speeded up by 15 months, was signed.

All the circumstances on which the Hungarian Government bases its decision were examined jointly before the signing of the agreement, that is, before commencing the construction, and specified further in the course of construction. The Hungarian Government decision has been made without discussion with the Czechoslovak side. The procedure set by the agreement on the resolution of disputed issues has not been observed. The Czechoslovak side considers this action to be unsubstantiated and without foundation, from the material and international law points of view. The CSSR Government therefore insists on the continuation and completion of the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project according to the valid agreement documents.

Considerable damage will be caused by the unilateral suspension of the work, and the Czechoslovak side reserves the right for this damage to be expressed in monetary figures and for the subsequent payment of damages in harmony with the agreement. This also applies in the case of the much greater damage which would be caused by the disruption of the construction of the whole water project.

The CSSR Government is ready to start talks with the Government of the People's Republic of Hungary with the aim of finding a joint path toward the successful completion of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project.

Slovak Appeal for Dam Project

LD1505163889 Prague CTK in English 1536 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Bratislava May 15 (CTK)—In harmony with the law on the Czechoslovak federation, the Slovak Government Presidium appealed at its session here Monday to the Federal Government for taking speedy measures to ensure observance of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian international agreement from the Hungarian side.

The Slovak Government Presidium at the same time called upon the building organizations and suppliers of the Czechslovak part of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian power station system on the Danube at Gabcikovo to continue to fulfil their task so that the first generator at Gabcikovo could be put into operation on July 1, 1990.

The Slovak Government Presidium expressed surprise at the Hungarian Government's decision to suspend the construction of the power station system at Nagymaros as it is a joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian action, according to the international agreement signed between the two states.

The investment and designing preparation lasted for more than 20 years with both Hungarian and Czechoslovak designers taking an active part in it.

Mainly the Nagmaros part has been discussed carefully with Soviet, Austrian, French and other specialists. The Czechoslovak side is surprised at the Hungarian Government's step all the more since it was its initiative on which an agreement on speeding up the construction of the power station system on the Danube was signed between the two countries.

The intention to stop and not realize the Nagymaros project would mean a conception devaluation of the whole power station system bringing immense economic losses to both states, mainly to Czechoslovakia, as it had to buy the major part of the equipment from Western partners. The actual effect of the project may be reached only if the existing concept of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros power station system is preserved.

This unilateral step of the Hungarian Government, though it is fully within its jurisdiction to decide about actions on the Hungarian territory, is in deep contradiction with the Czechoslovakia-Hungary agreement and international law.

Hungarian Press Cited

LD1505130189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Hungary: Today's Hungarian press carries detailed information about the extraordinary Government session, which last Saturday decided to suspend for 2 months the construction of the Nagymaros section of the water barrage system on the Danube. That decision

has surprised a number of Hungarian organizations. According to many of them, the decision contains many things that are unclear, that have not been thought out fully, and that lack overall information. The largest number of unanswered questions concerns the manner in which the work is to be halted, the legal aspects, and the international obligations Hungary has toward Czechoslovakia and Austria.

In an interview for NEPSZABASAG, Miklos Szanto, managing director of the OVIBER Enterprise, which carries out the main bulk of investment work, described that decision as surprising and confused. The government has halted work in Nagymaros, but it is not clear what will be the fate of other investment along the 120-km-long section of the Danube. Miklos Szanto said further that, instead of fulfilling the work timetable, the enterprise is now having to draw up a list giving the current state of construction at individual construction sites and the possibility of reverting them to their original state, while at the same time ensuring that navigation is possible along this international waterway. He pointed out that political and not expert debate is currently going on about this water project.

Charter 77 Protests Ceausescu's Visit to Prague

LD1605075389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0430 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] It is reported from Prague that Czechoslovak opposition members have sent a protest statement to Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovakia Communist Party, on account of the planned visit to Prague of Nicolae Ceausescu.

The Charter 77 organization recalls that human rights have been disregarded for years in Romania and that Ceausescu's policy has isolated the country internationally.

Dubcek, Charter 77 Members Attend Funeral

LD1605092389 Hamburg DPA in German 0855 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Prague (DPA)—An unexpected meeting of numerous well-known opposition personalities of Czechoslovakia took place in Bratislava on Monday at the funeral of Slovak writer Dominik Tatarka. Tatarka was banned from publishing in 1956 when he criticized Stalinism in his book The Demon of Consent. He also supported the release of imprisoned playwright Vaclav Havel.

It was learned from civil rights campaign circles today that over 1,000 people attended the funeral of the regime critic, including important signatories of Charter 77, former Czechoslovak Communist Party first secretary Alexander Dubcek, as well as Bratislava Bishop Ian Korec, who is not recognized by the state.

Hunger Striker Reportedly in Intensive Care

AU1305135289 Paris AFP in English 0413 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Prague, May 13 (AFP)—Stanislav Devaty, former spokesman of the human rights group Charter 77, was moved to an intensive care unit here on Friday, 12 days after he began a hunger strike to protest his arrest at a May Day rally, Charter 77 said.

The group said that Mr. Devaty was moved to a civilian hospital from the penitentiary clinic in Prague after his condition worsened. On April 14, he had been released from jail after a month-long hunger strike during which he was force-fed, but he remained charged with incitement to rebellion.

Mr. Devaty was among about 100 people arrested for trying to hold an opposition march coinciding with official May Day ceremonies. Most of those detained were freed shortly afterwards.

Appeals Court Upholds Sentence on Seditionist

LD1205174589 Prague CTK in English 1549 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Prague May 12 (CTK)—The regional court in Ostrava, north Moravia, today confirmed the verdict of the Prerov district court on Tomas Hradilek to its full extent and rejected the appeals both by the district prosecutor in Prerov and by the defendent as ungrounded.

On April 5, Tomas Hradilek was found guilty of attempted criminal acts of sedition and damaging national interests abroad and was given a sentence of 13 months' imprisonment suspended for two years [as received].

The appeals court today confirmed the sentence, which thus came into effect.

Minister of Finance Stejksal Interviewed

AU1205203189

[Editorial Report] Prague PRACE in Czech on 25 and 27 April and on 6 May, on page 5 in each instance, publishes in three installments an "extensive interview" (of approximately 10,000 words) with Jan Stejskal, CSSR minister of finance, by Ivan Spani. The date and place of the interview are not given.

The 3,200-word first installment of the interview, headlined "Which Way Leads to Balance," deals with budget issues, particularly the need to restore economic balance and limit redistribution processes within the budgets of the federation and the republics. Stejskal says that restoring economic balance (that is, "creating an economically desirable relationship between the amount of money in the hands of the state, enterprises, and the population and the volume of demand for products and services") will be a "longer-term process." This is because "most of

the existing disproportions and disruptions have deeper-lying roots and long-lasting causes" and because their elimination presupposes substantive structural changes in the economy and in investment policy. Ultimately, he says, the restoration of balance will depend on "how we come to terms with the requirements of economic reform."

Speaking about the budget situation, Stejskal says that "tension between revenues and expenditures has been manifested for some time already," but that recently this tension has "intensified." In the seventies, he says, the budget accounts always closed with surpluses, which, however, were progressively declining. As Stejskal goes on to say, the situation in the state budgets has been deteriorating especially since the beginning of the Eighth 5-Year Plan: "The revenues are adversely affected by the nonfulfillment of the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan in production efficiency growth, while pressure on expenditures is strong. This also concerns pressure on expenditures to cover long-neglected needs of the non-production sphere (social security, health care, repairs of the housing stock, and so forth) and on expenditures to tackle a multitude of problems connected with the low efficiency of the manufacturing sphere, with shortcomings in the price system, and so forth.

"The state budget continues to be heavily involved in redistribution processes, but the budget revenues fall short of the plan because transition to intensive economic development is slow. This was manifested in the closing of budget accounts for 1986 and 1987 and this tension between revenues and expenditures persists.

"In closing the state budget account for 1986, we used surpluses from previous years to even out revenues and expenditures. In 1987 we blocked some [planned] budget expenditures and offset the deficits of the two republics' state budgets by extraordinary appropriations from the federal budget and by drawing on reserve funds from previous years.

"These issues are being candidly discussed in the Federal Assembly. They are a reflection of the situation in the entire national economy: Efficient generation of resources is lagging behind, while trends toward the disproportionate growth of some needs, such as inventories, investments, and the like, are asserting themselves.

"In defiance of all these problems, our state budgets even for 1989 were drawn up as balanced, which, in my opinion, is a significant step on the road to the gradual restoration of overall equilibrium in the national economy. To accomplish this balance, however, we are forced to limit the growth of some expenditures or adapt expenditures to generated resources. This concerns, for example, investments, but also expenditures on individual sectors of public and state consumption, expenditures on the administration of the state, and so forth. However, should the manufacturing sphere fail in the efficient generation of financial resources and should the nonfulfillment of the exacting tasks set in the reduction of costs and in the generation of profit, turnover tax, and other resources continue, it would be unavoidable to resort to corresponding restrictions in planned expenditures."

Stejskal goes on to discuss the government's intention to limit redistribution processes in the national economy—both between the state budgets and enterprises and between the federal budget and the budgets of the two republics. As Stejskal explains, this also concerns the so-called "general" appropriations from the federal budget, 40 percent of which now flow to the budget of the Slovak Socialist Republic (SR) and 60 percent to the budget of the Czech SR. "Special purpose" appropriations, on the other hand, are to be continued "to ensure the constitutional principle that the financing of designated projects, if their scale and their importance for the federation as a whole and for the further development of the republics' economy require it, is a task for the federal budget."

Another issue which Stejskal broaches is the impact of the ongoing reorganization of Czechoslovak enterprises on their relationship to the state budgets. Stejskal explains that the recipient of enterprise levies is determined by the organizational subordination of the enterprise in question. Under a draft law on the budget system that has already been introduced in the Federal Assembly, the minister says, "federally administered enterprises will, as heretofore, surrender their levies to the federal budget, and enterprises administered by the republics to the republics' budgets. At the same time, it is being proposed that to reinforce the revenue base of the two republics' budgets, even federally administered organizations (with the exception of organizations within the jurisdiction of the Federal Ministry of National Defense and the Federal Ministry of Interior) surrender their levies on wages to the state budgets of the republics. This means, in other words, that an enterprise administered by the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrotechnical Industry based in the Czech SR would, as heretofore, surrender all its levies to the state budget of the Czechoslovak Federation but that for its plants located in the Czech SR it would pay its levies on wages to the state budget of the Czech SR, and for its plants in the Slovak SR to the state budget of the Slovak SR.

"Cases in which an enterprise under the jurisdiction of a ministry of the Czech SR has a plant in the Slovak SR, or vice versa, will be quite rare. But even in such a case this enterprise will pay all its levies in the place of its enterprise directorate. However, it is foreseen that, on the basis of an agreement between the two republics, the relevant financial administration body will share out these levies between the Czech SR and the Slovak SR."

Asked whether this system might be billed as "self-financing of the republics," Stejskal replies that this would be "imprecise": "The Czechoslovak economy must be viewed as a single fully integrated entity. As

analyses show, the historically evolved differences between the conditions of economic life in the Czech SR and the Slovak SR have been overcome and the socio-economic gap between our two nations has essentially been closed."

Next, Stejskal is asked about the impact of the ongoing structural reorganization of Czechoslovak enterprises on the budget situation. He replies that the restructuring is still in progress (following the completion of its second stage on 1 April 1989, within the framework of which 1,134 new state enterprises were set up, more than 60 percent of the workforce reportedly operates under the "new conditions") and that the new economic mechanism has not yet become fully operative. For these reasons, and also because the process of transition to state enterprises required the solution of "many complex financial issues," including the "adjustment of some planned output and cost indicators," Stejskal believes that greater revenues of the state budget as a result of the better economic performance of state enterprises and the limitation of budget subsidies can only be expected in subsequent years, after the new economic mechanism becomes fully operative. However, Stejskal mentions, that some budget savings ought to result from manpower cuts in central agencies: "Central agencies throughout the CSSR have been charged with the task of reducing their staff by 5,762 persons by 30 June 1989, on whose wages almost Kcs300 million annually have been spent thus far. Of this, Kcs160 million represents net savings for the state budget, with the rest being earmarked to temporarily compensate laid-off staff for earnings losses and to better reward highly efficient staff."

Stejskal mentions that in 1988, the staff of central agencies was already cut by 4,034 persons and Kcs46 million in wages were saved. The 1989 budget reportedly provides for Kcs138 million worth of wages saved, with the remaining savings to be reached in 1990. Additional savings should result from the reduced number of official cars, according to the minister. Stejskal notes that, according to preliminary data, the number of official cars in central agencies will be cut by 107, in proportion to the reduction in the number of deputy ministers and heads of central agencies. This reduction is expected to yield Kcs10 million worth of saved operating costs annually, plus Kcs34 million worth of saved expenditures on the replacement of the car pool.

The 3,000-word second installment of the interview is published on 27 April on page 5, under the headline "Combating Inflation With Entrepreneurship." Here Stejskal replies to questions about the planned use of economic instruments to combat inflation and to stimulate entrepreneurship.

In his opening question, the interviewer states that "inflationary trends" are one of the manifestations of the "general and structural imbalance" in the Czechoslovak economy, and asks what instruments will be used to curb them.

In reply, Stejskal first discusses the scale and forms of inflation in Czechoslovakia: "What is involved in our conditions is primarily the so-called hidden inflation, which does not find its expression just in the growth of the price index, but is evident in several more complex forms. One of them is, for instance, the existence of the so-called 'unofficial' economy, which emerges as a result of imbalance on the official market with regard to consumer goods and services. Its elimination requires, first and foremost, a marked increase in the supply of consumer goods and services with the variety and quality which the consumer demands. Only to some extent is it possible to assess inflation in the CSSR according to the development of the index of retail prices. Using the official index as a yardstick, retail prices are growing at a relatively slow pace—for instance in the 1981-85 period by an annual average of 2 percent; in 1986 by 0.6 percent; in 1987 by 0.1 percent; and in 1988 by 0.2 percent. The greatest annual increase was recorded in 1982 when retail prices increased 5 percent.

"The problem is, however, that the official index of retail prices (like the index of the cost of living) does not adequately express the price situation on the domestic market, because it does not record, for instance, the influence of changes in the merchandise range, and so forth. The impact of changes in the merchandise range is expressed in the development of the index of the so-called average prices, which, however, are monitored only for individual groups of merchandise. The Federal Statistical Office is therefore preparing a new method of recording data on the development of the people's standard of living, which should already make itself felt in the evaluation of this year's results.

"The possibility of determining the measure and scale of inflation is thus complicated by the fact that, under conditions of economic imbalance and centrally regulated prices, it does not find its expression so much in the open rise of prices as in diverse forms of hidden and suppressed inflation. This is attested to, for instance, by the rise in actual prices of consumer goods beyond their official level, by the deteriorating quality of some types of merchandise, by price increases that are not matched by corresponding improvements in utility value, by the existence of the forced substitution of higher-price goods for lower-price goods, by the disappearance of cheaper types of merchandise, and the like. The existence of suppressed inflation is also indicated by the fact that the preponderance of demand over supply is tackled with the aid of administrative methods (rationing system, waiting lists), by the development of illegal activities, and so forth.

"Processes similar to those taking place on the consumer goods market are also at work in the production sphere, in the development of wholesale and procurement prices."

In his next question the interviewer asks: "You have spoken about a marked increase in the supply of sought-after consumer goods as an anti-inflation instrument.

Why, then, does the state not buy scarce attractive merchandise abroad at advantageous prices and sell it even more advantageously at home? This seems to be lucrative for tourists and black marketeers, despite a very disadvantageous exchange rate. They make a handsome profit and even those who purchase the merchandise from them at exorbitant prices are satisfied. Why does the state not replace them under similar or even better terms, and thus profit itself?"

Stejskal replies that the CSSR Government has already taken measures to increase imports of consumer goods, making use, inter alia, of its assets in developing countries. He adds, however, that higher imports are conditional on the generation of sufficient foreign exchange funds through exports, especially to the hard currency area. He notes that, to combat inflation, the government wants to orient its financial policy "on the development of entrepreneurship on the basis of enterprises' self-financing and responsibility for their economic results." By means of the system of levies and taxes, it will introduce "stable and uniform" conditions for enterprises; will reduce and eliminate subsidies from the state budget, especially subsidies that "cover up for mismanagement and low efficiency and obfuscate differences between enterprises that are performing well and those that are performing poorly"; and peg the use of financial resources to their creation. Effective struggle against inflation, he continues, also requires a coordinated wage policy which must establish harmony between the development of earnings, work results, and price policy.

In a subsequent question,the interviewer inquires about the methods the government intends to use to encourage an entrepreneurial spirit. Stejskal replies that, instead of employing administrative coercion, the new economic mechanism will "encourage a healthy entrepreneurial spirit through economic instruments of indirect management." In this context, he discusses the law on levies payable to the state budget which is now being drawn up. The draft law, he says, foresees a 50-percent levy on the volume of wages, a levy on property, whose rate will yet be proposed, as well as a levy on profits. The rate for the levy on profits has not been fixed either, the minister says, but its level should be such that "the enterprise's share in profit should be its main motivation to develop profitable activity." Asked why enterprises will have to pay a levy on property and thereby pay the state for something which they purchased with their own funds or which they had even manufactured themselves, Stejskal replies that this levy is designed to "bring a pressure to bear on the more economical use of production factors." In addition to the aforesaid levies, which will apply to all enterprises, there will also be a "levy on depreciation" and "a regulatory and punitive levy." The former will apply to organizations whose production programs are to be phased out and to enterprises in the construction of which state subsidies accounted for at least 50 percent of investments. Temporarily, in the years of the Ninth 5-Year Plan, the levy on depreciation should also be used to even out the different starting positions of enterprises. The regulatory and punitive levy is finally to be used to "penalize excessive growth of wages, violations of regulations, and the like." All rates of levies should be "essentially uniform," according to Stejskal, although "certain deviations will have to be applied for some branches and types of organizations." Stejskal cites as an example some (unspecified) service industries, in which the newly imposed levy on wages has not been projected into prices.

Next, Stejskal discusses the use of enterprises' retained profits. He says that enterprises will be required to set aside "minimum mandatory allocations" for the fund of cultural and social needs and for the contingency reserve fund, a fund that is to be used to offset swings in the economic situation of the enterprises. Decisions on the use of the remaining profits (after the payment of levies to the state and after appropriations to the mandatory funds) will be fully within the authority of the enterprise, "which is an important element of stimulating the entrepreneurial spirit." According to Stejskal, enterprises will also be allowed to transfer balances from previous years, which will allow them longer-term planning and the financing of large-scale development programs. Stejskal points out that, in implementing their development programs, enterprises will also be able to draw on bank credit. He warns, however, that banks, which operate on a commercial basis themselves, will apply far more exacting criteria on the efficiency of investment programs.

In his next question, the interviewer complains that Czechoslovak enterprises have already started to "scramble for profit at any price" and asks which instruments the Ministry of Finance has at its disposal to curb this tendency. Stejskal concedes that "the emphasis on the self-financing of an enterprise and, thereby, the accentuated role of profit can really find its expression in the pressure on the growth of prices, particularly under conditions of economic imbalance." He attributes this to the "undemanding economic environment" in Czechoslovakia, which allows manufacturers to pass their excessively high production costs on to the consumer. To combat this tendency, he says, "we foresee, next to the plan-based restoration of a balanced state of the economy, central price control and, above all, expansion of competition among enterprises to suppress the monopoly status of suppliers and to strengthen the position of the consumer on the market." He also mentions that "in the event of an inordinate growth of enterprise resources and violation of price and other regulations, we will apply regulatory and punitive levies, payable to the state budget."

The 3,600-word third and last installment of the interview, entitled "Shall We Abandon the 'Residuary' Principle?," is published on 6 May, on page 5. It deals with the financing of social expenditures and with the policy on subsidies.

In his opening statement, Stejskal says that the new economic mechanism provides for a "new approach to financing the social needs of enterprises." The aim of

planned measures in this sphere, which, as Stejskal mentions, have already been discussed with representatives of the Central Trade Union Council, is to allow enterprises to "cover their costs and, hence, build into their production costs only those expenditures on social consumption which immediately ensure the reproduction of their manpower." All other expenditures are to be covered by the retained profits of the enterprise. Stejskal mentions that, originally, the Ministry of Finance and the trade unions differed in their opinions on which expenditures belong to the first and which to the second category. Now, however, they "are very close" on the issue of which enterprise outlays are expenditures on the reproduction of manpower and should therefore form part of production costs. These are expenditures on enterprise catering, on enterprise health care, on the vocational training of apprentices, and on adult education and training. According to Stejskal, differences still persist with regard to expenditures on recreation, culture, and sports, with the ministry upholding the view that these expenditures have the character of "collective material incentives" and should therefore be covered from retained profits. Stejskal says that, generally, the use of the fund of cultural and social needs should be "broader than it is now."

Asked about the funding of enterprise-owned and enterprise-operated facilities (such as houses of culture, kindergartens, or sports grounds), the use of which is not limited to enterprise employees, Stejskal says that, if the activities and tasks of these facilities "go beyond the framework of the functions and interests of enterprises and have a more or less regional character," they should receive "special-purpose" subsidies. He stresses that these subsidies will not offset the difference between revenues and expenditures, but will be specifically targeted. He says that, generally, the forms of funding the operation of these facilities will vary, with enterprises paying only for activities concerning their own workforce. It is also being proposed, Stejskal continues, that enterprise-operated facilities provide services for the general public (such as foreign-language classes or cosmetic treatment) to bolster their revenues. Referring to the activities of houses of culture, the minister emphasizes, however, that the search for financial self-reliance must not lead to "commercialization" and to the loss of interest in "political-cultural activity that is not lucrative."

Speaking about the funding of enterprise-owned apartments, Stejskal says that, before a new concept of housing policy is adopted, the existing system will be retained, which means that the losses arising from the operation of enterprise housing will be covered from enterprise profits. He points out that enterprises, too, will have to move toward charging "economically sound rents."

In his subsequent replies, Stejskal discusses future policy on subsidies, the "new principles" of which are currently being drafted. According to these principles, specifically targeted subsidies, "pegged to a specifically measurable extent of production or output," will take precedence over "global" subsidies and will "be granted only if they are essential from the viewpoint of the priority of development targets, to maintain living standards, or, for example, to solve ecological problems." The extension of all subsidies will be restricted to a designated time frame and the terms of their provision will be regularly revised. Besides, legislative bodies are to "publicly assess and approve" the policy on subsidies within the framework of the budget debate.

Asked how it is possible, given the tightened policy on subsidies, that last year Czechoslovak enterprises exceeded the investment plan by Kcs13 billion, Stejskal replies that subsidies from the state budget accounted for only an "insubstantial part" of the exceeded volume of capital investment. According to the minister, only the accelerated construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project required higher state expenditures than planned, with all the other above-plan spending on investments coming from enterprises' retained earnings or bank credits. To show that the state is cutting investment subsidies in order to reduce the number of projects-in-progress (the value of which is said to have exceeded Kcs280 billion at the end of 1987, that is, almost one-half of spent national income), Stejskal says that the state budget for 1989 foresees Kcs42.6 billion worth of investment expenditures, which is only 10 percent of total budget expenditures. Of this sum, Kcs33.3 billion are earmarked for the nonproduction sphere and only Kcs9.3 billion as subsidies for the production sphere. Stejskal points out that the only program that is not affected by the declining volume of investments in the production sphere is the "ecological program," on which Kcs34 billion is to be spent in the Ninth 5-Year Plan, which is twice as much as in the years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

Speaking about the policy on subsidizing national committees, the minister says that, although the general principles of the law on state enterprises will also apply to organizations that are administered by national committees, not all of them will be "purely self-financing." Water works, public transport operators, and organizations of the housing economy, for instance, will continue to receive subsidies which will offset the difference between the "economically sound cost of services" and the lower price charged to their users.

The concluding part of the interview is devoted to the problem of "surplus money that is in the possession of some groups of the population." The interviewer asks, for example, whether there are any plans to "activate" this money by issuing shares or bonds and creating a securities market. Stejskal replies: "The possibilities of using securities in our conditions are being considered at present, in connection with the restructuring of the economic mechanism. The CSSR Government has charged our ministry and the State Bank with assessing, on the basis of an analysis of foreign experience of the introduction of bond lending, the introduction of bank bonds for enterprises and the population. Our analysis is

to be submitted in the last quarter of the year, with the further course of action to be decided thereafter." Stejskal is also asked whether the establishment of a new inland revenue authority is planned to combat "ill-gotten gains and inordinate unearned income." He replies that, "for the time being," the existing structure of taxing authorities will be retained, but that "tax control will be tightened." He also mentions that the ministry is working on a "rational and simpler tax system which would also safeguard greater social justice."

Slovak Central Committee Session Concludes

LD1205075289 Prague CTK in English
1855 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Bratislava May 11 (CTK)—The need for all Communists, especially Communists in the management and party organizations at schools, to strive to fulfil the resolutions of the 13th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee concerning the sphere of education was stressed by Slovak Communist Party First Secretary Ignac Janak here today.

He was speaking at a session of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee which ended today.

The session, attended by Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Fojtik, reviewed the level of development of the system of education, concretized the tasks of communists in education, state bodies, national committees and the economic sphere, and approved a report of the presidium of the Slovak party on tasks in education in conditions of the restructuring process in Slovakia.

CSSR-GDR Water Conservation Commission Meets

LD0605130489 Prague CTK in English
1041 GMT 6 May 89

[Text] Prague May 6 (CTK)—The 13th meeting of the joint commission of the Czechoslovak and the GDR Governments for conservancy of border waters ended here today.

Head of the Czechoslovak delegation Zdenek Kopecny and his GDR colleague Quido Thomas [name as received] discussed further details of an agreement on the limitation and removal of dangerous pollution of border waters, coordinated use of border waters of the Elbe and other issues.

Honecker Wants To See Gorbachev Before FRG Visit
AU1605123089 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG in German 14 May 89 p 1

["H.V." report: "SED Concerned About Gorbachev's Visit to Bonn"]

[Text] Bonn—Concern and alarm at Soviet state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Bonn from 12 to 15 June have been increasingly reported from the GDR leadership.

Western secret services possess information that GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker is intensively striving for a meeting with Gorbachev before the latter's departure for Bonn. Reportedly, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is concerned that Moscow and Bonn might reach agreements on Germany and Gorbachev might comment on the Germans' right to self determination and the Berlin Wall. According to secret service information, Honecker has found a pretext to travel to the Soviet Union. Apparently, he is planning to visit the industrial town of Magnitogorsk in the region of Chelyabinsk with a stopover in Moscow. When he was 18 years old, Honecker had a leading position in the work brigades that built the Magnitogorsk steel mill.

Jaruzelski To Pay 'Friendly' Visit 22 May
LD1505175689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1701 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Worker's Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Poland, will pay a friendly visit to the GDR on 22 May this year at the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State.

FRG Short-Range Missile Controversy Viewed
AU1605152389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 May 89 p 2

["W.M." editorial: "Dam Against Reason and Willingness To Achieve Peace"]

[Text] While from Moscow we receive news that today the Soviet Union will present a new disarmament initiative to the international public which concerns the reduction of tactical nuclear ammunition in Europe, something completely different is heard from Bonn: According to press agencies, an open quarrel about short-range nuclear missiles has broken out there. The core of the heated conflict is the question of whether a new wave of arms buildup in the field of tactical nuclear weapons, which is poorly disguised as "modernization," will be started or not.

The quarrel has spread to the entire government coalition. It shows that a considerable portion of the Christian Social Union [CSU] and the Christian Democratic Union obviously wants to prevent, by all means, negotiations between the two military alliances on steps to eliminate this dangerous category of weapons. At the same time, in view of the clear rejection of the hellish nuclear devices by the great majority of the FRG citizens, they do not want to advertise their positive attitude toward "modernization." Minister Zimmermann, for instance, said that it is political suicide to decide this question before the Bundestag elections.

Genscher called the open quarrel about a question that is of vital importance to the FRG a very weighty matter. The determined opponents of negotiations obviously consider him, the foreign minister who belongs to the Free Democratic Party, their target. CSU Secretary General Huber complained that Genscher has not stated clearly enough that there must not be a third zero option.

Indeed, maintaining tactical nuclear weapons is a threat to the existence of the FRG and of all countries in the center of our continent. Replacing the Lance missiles, which are now stationed in the FRG, with new weapons system with a range that is four times greater would be an even greater threat. The FRG citizens understand this very well, as their clear attitude toward this issue shows. Four out of five people want nuclear weapons to completely disappear from their country.

However, this is exactly what frightens those in Bonn who not only want to station new tactical nuclear missiles but want to enforce a comprehensive program of arms buildup, as Bundeswehr Inspector General Admiral Wellershoff has recommended. These people want to make sure that the willingness of the population to achieve peace must not win. Therefore, the quarrel within the government coalition broke out. Therefore, the attempt to erect a damn through rejecting negotiations with the Warsaw Pact on tactical nuclear weapons is being made. A dam against reason.

Stoph Meets Bulgarian Minister Ovcharov
LD1205174489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1303 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In a talk in Berlin today, Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Stoyan Ovcharov, Bulgarian minister of economics and planning, underlined the joint positions of the GDR and Bulgaria on the maintenance and preservation of peace and the implementation of the Warsaw Pact member states' policy aimed at further disarmament. They praised the latest Soviet initiatives and gave them their full approval. The guest from Sofia is in the GDR for consultations between the two countries' central planning organs.

The two sides noted with satisfaction that bilateral cooperation is developing successfully. Good preconditions exist for the further dynamic development of

economic relations. The long-term program of cooperation between the GDR and Bulgaria until the year 2000 is being implemented resolutely. This is particularly true in the close cooperation on key technologies and new materials. Increasing importance is attached to specialization and cooperation in production, including in the spheres of engineering, electrical engineering, and electronics, as well as in the chemical industry.

Stoph and Ovcharov expressed satisfaction that agreement had been reached on the tasks for coordinating the national economies in the coming 5-year-plan period. Plan coordination among the CEMA countries is an important factor for stability and continuity and therefore should continue to be actively utilized to raise the efficiency of the two countries' economies.

Mayors of Dresden, Hamburg Meet for Talks

AU1205194189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 May 89 p 5

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—On Wednesday [10 May], Dresden's Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer was received by the mayor of Hamburg, Henning Voscherau, for talks that focused on the peace activities of the two partner cities and the further development of relations between the two cities. Henning Voscherau pointed out to the mayor of Dresden that Dresden's participation in the celebrations marking the 800th anniversary of Hamburg harbor has met with a great response in the Hanseatic city.

After their talks the two mayors emphasized the great importance of preserving and strengthening peace for the further fruitful development of relations between Hamburg and Dresden, and between the two German states. Henning Voscherau stressed that the modernization of short-range nuclear missiles did not fit the current situation, an opinion which was shared by the majority of the FRG population. He said: "On behalf of the Hanseatic city of Hamburg and on my own behalf, I strongly object to this modernization, which is in reality the exchanging of an outdated weapons system with a completely new one. We reject such a step."

Dresden Mayor Comments on Visit

AU1405145789 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 13 May 89 p 4

[Diethart Goos report: "Berghofer: Joint Deliberations on Purification of Elbe in Dresden"]

[Text] Hamburg—Next month in Dresden FRG and GDR experts will discuss urgent measures to reduce environmental pollution. This was announced by Dresden Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer in an interview for DIE WELT on the occasion of his visit to Hamburg.

As the high-ranking representative of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] reported, the pollution of the Elbe River will play a "prominent part" in these talks. However, the round of experts will also deal with other ecological problems, such as keeping the air clean, waste water purification, and waste removal.

Mayor Berghofer told DIE WELT that he considers the sister city agreement with Hamburg, which was concluded in 1987, very positive. Both sides benefit from this alliance. Berghofer: "Hamburg and Dresden are good addresses in Europe. What is stated there, carries weight." One is aware of the great responsibility for the further development of inner-German relations, which has to take into consideration what is possible and what is impossible.

In the interview for DIE WELT, the Dresden mayor called the "acceptance of the partner's sovereignty the basis of good-neighborly relations." The two social systems are completely different, and "we do not want to change them." Like SED General Secretary Erich Honecker, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, and the first mayor of Dresden's sister city Hamburg, he is deeply convinced that war is no longer a means of politics and that war must never again start from German soil. Berghofer added: "Many things can be achieved, if people do not shoot at each other."

Mayor Berghofer said that, within a relatively short period, both sides have contributed many things to the partnership between Dresden and Hamburg. There are many topics that are worth being taken up, he said. Berghofer referred to last year's symposium on questions of peace policy in Dresden, in which officials from the two sides participated. In late August, an experts group from Dresden will come to the Hamburg University Peace Research Institute, managed by Egon Bahr, disarmament expert of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, to continue this dialogue. The date has been deliberately chosen to coincide with the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the war, he said.

In addition to numerous cultural projects, such as the extraordinary china exhibition entitled "350 Years of Dresden Blue Painting" and the concert of the Hamburg Philharmonic Orchestra in the Dresden Semper Opera House, economic and traffic issues also play a role in the further development of the town-twinning agreement, Berghofer said. In this context, Berghofer also mentioned the start of regular flights between Dresden and Hamburg.

CSSR May Seek Compensation for Dam Project

LD1505163189 Budapest MTI in English 1415 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 15, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—The machines at the Nagymaros hydroelectric power plant construction have been at a standstill since Monday after the government suspended the dam construction for two months at its special meeting on Saturday. Over the next two months, the government plans to study in detail the possibility of abandoning the Nagymaros part of the Bos-Nagymaros Dam, and of terminating the investment there. At the next parliamentary session, the government is to request authorization from the representatives to hold talks with the Czechoslovak and Austrian parties concerned.

Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth declared that, though he had not yet come to a final conclusion in considering the circumstances, if research justified terminating the construction, then he is prepared to undertake this decision too.

The project director of the Czechoslovak Minister of Water Management stated in an interview published on Saturday that if Hungary were to stop the Nagymaros Dam construction unilaterally, Czechoslovakia would incur losses of 27 billion crowns, in which case they would be putting in a claim for damages.

Professor Laszlo Valki, head of the Department of International Law at Budapest University, pointed out that it was up to the Czechoslovak party to prove the extent of their losses. He added that the concepts of missed profits and of ideal loss are unknown in relations between the socialist countries.

The earlier the Hungarian party announces the stopping of the Nagymaros Dam construction, the greater damage it can avert, because from that date, the Czechoslovak party will be obliged to mitigate damages: that is, it will be forced to terminate all activities in connection with the Nagymaros project.

The Hungarian-Czechoslovak agreement on the Bos-Nagymaros construction puts controversial issues under the jurisdiction of authorized government representatives, and, should they fail to reach an agreement, the two governments are bound to hold talks on the issue. Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth is to travel to Prague on an official visit as early as this month, the visit is the result of an earlier decision.

Professor Valki added that, in compliance with the usual practice, the recovery of losses does not mean the immediate remittance of a certain amount of money, but only the implementation of goods deliveries.

Independent Hungarian experts say 20-30 billion of the 100-200 billion forints' costs of the Danube water barrage construction could be saved by putting a stop to the Nagymaros project.

The bulk of the construction work has been done by Austrian companies, financed by a 7-billion-schilling Austrian Government loan which Hungary would have to repay by supplying electric power from 1996. Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy hinted in a television interview that losses incurred by Austrian companies could be reduced by involving item in investments connected with the 1995 Budapest-Vienna world expo.

It was back in 1951 that the Czechoslovak and Hungarian governments began to look into the possibilities of taking more advantage of the common stretch of the Danube.

Hungary and Czechoslovakia signed an agreement on the construction of a barrage system at Bos-Nagymaros in 1981. In view of economic difficulties, Hungary moved in 1981 to re-schedule the construction, and in 1983, the prime ministers of the two countries signed a protocol on postponing the deadline of completion of the project by four years. After the agreements on Austrian involvement in the project were signed, however, the deadline was again brought forward a little, and the barrage system should thus be ready by 1992.

Last October, the Hungarian Parliament decided with 317 votes for, 19 against and 31 abstentions that the prject should be continued. The sole condition was that it should not be put into operation or start generating electricity for peak-load periods until the related environmental installations had been completed.

Nemeth Speaks on Warsaw Talks, Barrage Decision

LD1505213889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 15 May 89

[Interview with Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth by correspondent Jozsef Laszlo at Ferihegy airport following talks in Warsaw—recorded]

[Text] [Lazslo] In Warsaw, at the news conference, you also said that you want to establish a kind of reform center in the government. Actually, this would mean that the power center will also change.

[Nemeth] Comrade Rakowski has said to me regarding this question that, like it or not, in a coalition position and situation which exists in the Polish Government already, the government becomes the main center of policymaking. Rather, it is the main center for exercising power and developing reforms. This is still before us. At the same time, we have mutually agreed that we have to break with this Stalinist model of monolithic, party state nature and party and state have to be separated as much

as possible. The government undertakes all the responsibility resulting from this. At the same time, we must to a consensus as soon as possible with the forces that take the situation upon themselves and want to participate.

[Laszlo] Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky has already given his reaction to the Hungarian announcement regarding the suspension of the Bos-Nagymaros project. According to him, the Hungarian Government will not modify its decision, thus the power station is not going to be completed.

[Nemeth] Well, the Hungarian Government has only suspended the building of the Nagymaros part of the power station for 2 months for the purpose of further investigations. I trust that our decision can be submitted to the national assembly for the purpose of taking a final stance.

I believe the Austrian reaction is a balanced, helpful, and forward stance and I am convinced that we shall be able to reach an agreement in a suitable manner with the Czechoslovakian party about the question of reconsultation or modification of the contract.

Nemeth Addresses National Assembly Session

AU1405134089 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 May 89 pp 3-4

[Speech by Premier Miklos Nemeth at the National Assembly session held on 10 May: "A Government Committed to Reform Is in Our National Interest"]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly!

I would like to justify my proposal to reorganize the government. I know that a lot of people—people here too—are of the opinion that I should have already reorganized the government. Not out of formal politeness, but on the basis of my experiences of recent months, I would say that these people were right. Perhaps I should have accepted Karoly Hellner's proposal when I was elected, and then I would have begun with my so-called own government. I say all this in a conditional mode because it is not certain that things would have turned out that way.

Then, I would not have been able to formulate my first sentence the way I have done today, namely that I ask your support for the premier's proposal. Today I could do this, because the independence of the government and of the premier make this possible today. The National Council of the Patriotic People's Front and the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee have declared that they do not wish to make use of the right to initiate the release and nomination of ministers, as formulated in Article N.9 of the Statute.

You have been aware of the proposal and the proposed persons for some time. At long last, we succeeded in advancing in this too, and the competent National Assembly committees now have the opportunity to get to know the candidates, to listen to their views, and to learn about the concepts with which these candidates are preparing to fulfill their tasks.

With the exception of one session, I participated in these meetings too and I had the opportunity to justify my proposals concerning individual persons. I must say that substantial and useful exchanges of views were held at these meetings, and many valuable observations were made here about the government activity, observations that are worth considering.

Before informing you about the reasons behind these changes and about my considerations in nominating new government members, let me take this opportunity to thank my departing colleagues for their activity. I wish those who received new positions successful work, and those who retired health and strength.

Among those whom we proposed be relieved, there were people who asked for this themselves; in other cases, the need to improve our activity justified the change. One of our goals in nominating new government members was to strengthen the government's ideological and action unity so that debates within the government do not use too much of our energy.

Generation Change in the Government

I also had to face a generation change in the government: Not every government leader wants to follow the obviously ragged path of the difficult period ahead of us, and therefore, it is justified to include an enterprising younger generation in the government, a thoroughly trained generation with a great capacity to carry burdens, a younger generation that proved to be mature and ready for leading positions.

I also had to strengthen the Council of Ministers—by adjusting to the changing role of this body—with persons who, in addition to their professional knowledge, are also ready to engage in politics, are able to conduct a dialogue with other forces, and who are also able to perform at the various open public forums and in the political public life.

I also had to consider the fact that we would soon have to submit a packet containing several measures to the National Assembly, and this packet has become necessary for improving our economic balance. It is desirable that the new team should finalize this packet so that the essential unity is also present in the implementation of this program.

Another consideration was that we should have adequate personnel conditions to work out the long-term strategy of changing our model and to carry out the subsequent tasks.

The government will submit the so-called packet to the National Assembly at the end of May, and its government strategy of transition probably at the beginning of this fall.

Many people ask whether these are simply changes of ministers or whether we are talking here about a thorough reorganization that would also affect the functioning of the government. Obviously, the latter is the case, and changes in the nature of the government activity and in the political role of government made this reorganization necessary.

There has been a tremendous increase in the number of government cases, decisions, and resolutions this year. Compared to earlier periods, in their order of magnitude, we have recently been preparing more laws for legislation. This requires an extremely stepped-up working pace. In addition to its quantitative growth, the nature of government activity has also changed. This government is no longer the simple executor of the MSZMP political decision, but has been actually formulating these political decisions. In this respect, we have made a considerable step forward toward the abolition of the party state.

A Democratic Political Mechanism

A period in the relations between the MSZMP leadership, the government, and Parliament has ended. Earlier:

—government decisions were almost always based on party resolutions and thus, the government played a limited executive role;
—the principle of the "least possible publicity" prevailed in government activity. Only formal communiques were published on the sessions, and only a narrow circle of people learned about the majority of government decisions;
—instead of the government, government committees decided on sensitive issues (like large-scale investments, the bauxite mining in Nyirad);
—the government did not accept the National Assembly either as a supervisory body or an equal partner.

Changes began in this area in 1988, and this year the situation has changed considerably. The MSZMP no longer exercises direct operative control over the government. Thus, the government now has the opportunity to formulate its strategy independently and to make genuine decisions for which it is responsible to the National Assembly. As a result:

—there are tough debates under way in the government on both major and minor issues;
—the government is functioning in a tense situation, and usually its alternative decisions harm various interests.

Esteemed National Assembly!

A particular political situation has emerged in the course of our current model changing process. We have reached a point in changing the previous power structures where the conservative forces are no longer capable of achieving a return to past models, and the reform forces are not yet capable of achieving a decisive breakthrough.

There is a danger that the crisis of the political system will also become a government, state organization, and executive power crisis. In this situation, a strong government committed to reforms is in our national interest.

The bitter experiences of the past 6 months have proved that the best and most well-intentioned political actions are not enough if there is no proper professional skill behind these actions, if there is no unity of will and action between those in charge of implementing these actions, and if the political echelons do not recognize that a policy should assist rather than order the independent development of our economy and of our culture in the widest sense of the word.

It is understandable that, today, when working out the theory and practice of a long-term social model is our major task, the issues of the democratic political mechanism and practice are repeatedly in the center of our life and general interest. Naturally, the social and political organizations, the parties and the trade unions should primarily deal with the political development and it is their common responsibility to help reducing the tensions by ensuring a peaceful way and form of political reorganization. The government contributes to this by laying the foundations of the legal conditions of this reorganization by means of correct professional work.

The fact that we have to simultaneously ensure our country's operational and developmental capability makes our situation especially difficult. People are justified when they say that they would also be satisfied with the country's operational capability. But one of the main reasons for our current problems is that we have sacrificed so many dreams, goals, talents, and ambitions for maintaining our daily ability to function, that now many of our compatriots are even questioning our ability to survive.

I also think that it is not only an elementary responsibility but also a matter of vital importance to maintain the ability of our economic and intellectual life in order to function. If this ability is questioned, our advance could resemble a drowning man gasping for air. A drowning man is unable to improve his breathing technique and his style. And we must advance step by step, by maintaining our ability to function.

Therefore, clearly the government wants to rely on parliament. The government considers its major tasks to be to maintain our economy's ability to function; to

consistently implement its program of economic restructuring; to create the preconditions of democratic elections, of the functioning of political parties, and of the manifestations of the people's will, and, at the same time, to ensure our society's peace and calm.

The government indeed feels the need for the soonest possible clarification in the developing pluralist society. It should be made clear who is who, who represents whom, and who wants what; and having struggled for himself, with himself, and with others, one should be identical with oneself and a predictable partner for other people. The government would like to provide assistance for this. We are working on a proposal whereby the government would provide financial help for the creation of material conditions for the functioning of the newly formed, developing, and renewing parties. With this too, we would like to contribute to the stabilization of conditions and to the creation of conditions for calm cooperation.

Esteemed National Assembly!

Only a government supported by the National Assembly can be a reform center that determines the content, direction, and dynamics of the reforms.

People Are Not Anti-Reform

The MSZMP in which the positions of the forces of reform are clearly gaining ground is a natural support for the present government; at the same time, this party is seeking alliance with every responsible political force committed to reform.

What basis does reform have in our society? Is it true, as some political analysts keep saying, that people in Hungary are against the reforms?

In my view, this is not true! This nation is for reforms, and it has stood the test of past difficult years with flying colors. It is enough to mention the courage with which people start various ventures often under uncertain conditions. This is adherence to reforms manifested in actions, although one can feel a certain degree of reservation: Is the government definitely committed to reforms? We should disperse this reservation.

The market, complete with all its contradictions, has appeared in our lives, but we often accept its consequences only with difficulty. This derives from the fact that, for decades, we have denied the real values of the market, and we wanted to replace the market itself with complex economic and official structures.

Our everyday practice finds it difficult to follow the decision that we want to contribute to the creation of a market economy that will take into consideration our nation's welfare situation and its particularities. Sometimes we feel that we do not shift gears consistently, and the car keeps jerking at the most unexpected moments because of sudden upward gear shifts and because of even more frequent panicky downshifting. Most probably, the problem lies with our sense of speed and with the over- and underestimation of the engine's performance.

If the market effect is unfavorable, people immediately demand in unison that the engine be put in neutral. This happens so frequently that the engine runs a lot in neutral, so that it consumes fuel but does not perform.

The way in which in the microeconomic area we can ensure consistent, direct, and lastingly effective interest for people capable and willing to take up ventures is precisely one of the breakthrough points from the pressure of our current economic situation. One of the greatest mistakes of this government was that its thinking and actions remained captive to the macroeconomic situation and of the intentions to change this situation. However, changes that would affect the entire structure of our economy could take place only if changes begin in the basic units. One of the main difficulties is precisely the fact that there are few basic units capable of taking up ventures and acting independently, and there are too many large organizations.

This situation needs to be changed primarily in the coming 3 years. The government should reduce the number of large economic units by market means, and should create security for the small- and medium-sized ventures that are few in number for the time being, but which play a key role in the future. The coming period should be the age of individual initiatives and cooperatives.

Today, many people understand the ownership issue in a way that we should preserve the sick large-scale organizations by all means, and by using every ideological argument. I think that the owner who does not dare to face the real economic prospects is a bad master.

False Pairs of Opposition

The case of the Obuda Shipyards has stirred great sensation in recent weeks. Promising and alarming signs appear simultaneously here. It is promising that the leaders of this large enterprise in trouble are coping with the problems of the inevitable structural change. The leaders of most such enterprises are better off hiding in a place sheltered from the wind and asking for money from the government, than facing the difficulties. It is promising that there are people who ponder whether there are realistic opportunities of remaining in competition and are seeking ways of making their property alive and useful, people who accept this even if they are facing great burdens and risks in the course of this difficult series of decisions.

It is alarming, however, in the rejection of this confrontation, that something has also appeared in debates. False pairs of opposition are forced on the public. For example, people ask what kind of situation is this when honest people can lose their jobs? People who ask such

questions don't consider the fact that the existence of a factory or a job does not depend on whether honest people work there or not, but it depends on whether they work there efficiently and profitably. If this is not the case, then the great number of honest people who carry out a loss-making activity disperse the income produced by a lot of honest people who do profitable work. And then, although no one's job is threatened, everyone will be an honest poor man. This cannot be our goal. The position that one does not want to participate in the inevitable steps of structural change by coming up with concrete positive proposals only hopes for a miracle by clinging to the beliefs and structure of a past era.

It is not worth waiting for such a miracle! Therefore, the question for us is how to strengthen the confidence of people who want to act and make positive changes. Of course, I do not mean this strengthening in the old ways, but that we should clarify the connections beyond the positive efforts and the commitments to values!

Concrete cases should make it clear who are the reformers, the responsible masters, and the citizens who assert the interests of the entire nation on their own piece of land too; and who are those who only assert their own interests and regard the nation's interests as being of a lower order.

Starting from this, one of the main points of our 3-year action program currently taking shape and due to be submitted to the National Assembly this fall should be the answer to the question of how to achieve the strengthening of participation, interest, motivation, and commitment in the microeconomic sphere. I am convinced that without this, the tensions prevailing in the society and in individuals will remain in the sphere of complaints and bitterness expressed during the card playing of Sunday afternoons and in the bitter silences during family dinners, instead of becoming a driving force for real practical answers emerging in the local environment.

Therefore, we must focus our attention on the microsphere, on reorganizing the motions and interest relations of autonomous organizations organized from below. We should not stick to the old method of linear restriction that is harming both men and ethics, a method that, unfortunately, is still used. This is like an hot-air balloon in which every passenger crouches down simultaneously, instead of deciding which ballast sack to throw out. The result is predictible: The balloon continues to lose height, while we should make it climb up by all means. We should accept the fact that, according to the experience of modern market economies, a linear restriction is inefficient.

Esteemed National Assembly!

My premiership so far seems to be characterized by a specific term which, I believe, is far from flattering. This label is: administrator.

I accept the role of an administrator! And I add here that every responsible person should accept this role in his own place. As far as I am concerned, my predecessors left me the task of administering affairs that are our country's affairs, and which no one has dealt with so far; if someone or some people do not take it upon themselves to really deal with these affairs, then this will definitely destroy the future of our country and our people!

These are painful affairs, a large bankruptcy, and we cannot eliminate this while having our hands, in kid gloves, always held by the happy masses. People will not cheer about the things that we must now do. I understand those who want to hear applause and would rather wait for affairs to be settled, and then could preach a happier future from a consolidated platform. Of course, this is still better than doing the same without such a basis!

And what about the period up to then? Until then, we must take rational measures, and not popular measures. We must do everything to escape from the debt gap, to eliminate the loss-making activities, to halt inflation, to halt the deterioration of our standard of living, and to raise the standard of our education, health care, culture, and morals. Until then, we must develop a market economy, reorganize ownership relations, create a constitutional state, and lead the country into a real democracy. In addition, we must also manage the country all this time. These are the affairs that this government should manage.

In order to succeed in this, the government must take it upon itself to ruthlessly reveal the real situation, involve the public, and openly analyze the reasons that led the country to this situation. We should avoid all kinds of irresponsible promises, something that people would perhaps not even demand so much if they received an authoritative and understandable explanation to their questions.

So far, people have received mostly half truths and partial explanations suitable for partial interests! My view is that we should provide an honest explanation for everything, and not excuses! For this, one should go down to the roots!

It is also a generally mistaken venture to strive to directly implement the theses of a system of ideas in practice. If these ideas are also distorted and it is made compulsory to follow them, then this is certainly an historical error!

This country has followed such a wrong path for a long time. It had to live according to dogmas as if these were objective laws. For example, in the economic sphere, the consistent increase in our standard of living, the decrease in prices as a result of an increase in productivity, and full employment, all these were proclaimed as basic laws of socialism. Exaggerated acceptance and promises were

made in the distribution of assets which were not based on economic realities: free education and health care, social security declared as a citizen's right, and many other things.

Our Debts Are a Great Burden

Soon, many people questioned the feasibility of the road set by others. They also tried to make this road feasible. The reform of 1968 was also aimed at this. However, as this reform did not choose another road but only patched up the old one, it soon reached a dead end. And the people who reached this dead end tried to prove that there was no need for reform. And this could best be justified in the eyes of the people by claiming that the standard of living was really increasing without reforms! Indeed, this was a "satanic" plan: To discredit the reform ideas in the eyes of the people in a way that turning away from reforms was rewarded by an economically unfounded increase in the standard of living! Then, a rapid increase in the standard of living took place between 1973 and 1978, a stable enterprise development was guaranteed primarily by central assistance and subsidies, while Hungary's economic performance was rapidly losing value in the world as a result of the often-mentioned world market changes.

A situation developed in which people kept prospering financially, while Hungary's economic performance was worth less and less in international competition. Although the leadership recognized this contradiction at the end of the seventies, it still believed that it was possible to maintain the prevailing standard of living without being supported by performance, that it was possible to reorganize the production structure without sacrifices, and that it was possible to renew the economy without reforming our political institutions.

In the wake of these grave mistakes, and while virtually fatal illusions were being pursued, a huge debt was accumulating, which today is an enormous burden! It practically ties our hands and compels us to follow a forced direction in many areas.

The repayment and interest burden of this debt exceeds $3 billion annually. In addition, we have to pay some $5.5 billion for capitalist imports, and together these sums make up an expenditure of $8.5-9 billion. Against this, our income from exports makes up about $6 billion. The amount missing for the balance could be reduced if the balance of our tourism income is positive, but we can balance the rest only by taking out new loans. Thus, we have to take $2.5-3.0 billion annually in loans only to be able to repay our debts, and nothing is left for development! In a nutshell, this is the essence of the situation we have inherited.

One can often hear nowadays that the current leadership could be worthy of our confidence only if it distances itself from the inheritance of the past. We must, indeed, distance ourselves from things we consider to be past mistakes and sins, and we can do that! This applies to politics and economies alike. But we cannot reject our inheritance and we must bear the burden for it for a long time to come! Whether we obtain confidence from the people or not depends not on distancing ourselves from our predecessors in words, but on proving with our actions that we want something different and we are doing something different too!

In other words, in the current situation, all the responsible forces should cooperate and accept the inheritance of the past in a way that we are clearly distancing ourselves at the same time from past mistakes.

This will also be our task in deciding on the fate of the Bos-Nagymaros power station.

By now, we all know that this is no longer a question of the power station alone. Bos-Nagymaros has become the symbol of a model that has to be exceeded. This is quite understandable. Beginning with the middle of the seventies, the political leadership repeated the economic policy mistakes of the fifties. Almost all the large-scale state investments which were decided and sanctioned by the narrow party leadership failed.

The decision on the Bos-Nagymaros hydropower station was also one of these investments. This decision was made in an antidemocratic way. I agree with everyone who objects to this way and, together with them, I declare that we should break with this bad decisionmaking mechanism once and for all.

However, we should also cope with this inheritance in an honorable way. The question of how to do this already threatens to divide our nation. Yet, we must find a solution which will not drive our country into a political crisis, will not threaten our environment with a catastrophe, and will not cause irreparable damage to our international relations. The government will not be led by considerations of prestige in formulating its final stand. On this issue too, we want to face the National Assembly and the people with honor and honesty in the next session.

A Reduced Central Interference

Esteemed National Assembly!

I would like to say a few words about the considerations on the basis of which this government continues to modernize the structure of our central state management. The state activity and the activity of state administration developed in past decades, and the legal regulations that determined the framework of these activities based on the omnipotence of the state and the law, established management forms, means, and methods that have already become obsolete but continue to use a

considerable number of personnel and use up other expenses in the central, district, and local administration, as well as in the various institutions and enterprises.

A considerably reduced central interference should replace the view and practice that sees the state administration as omnipotent. We will reexamine those obsolete and inefficient means and methods of management which are not suitable for social and economic goals, and will eliminate many of these methods. In areas that continue to require a certain amount of state interference, we will establish modern forms of influence which are in harmony with the requirements of a democratic social order and of a market economy.

It is primarily the responsibility of the government and of the central state administrative bodies to prepare these reforms. However, the experience so far proves that it is impossible to fulfill this task successfully only by means of organizational measures. A radical change requires a multilateral and thoroughly thought out action. In accordance with this, the valid legal regulation is currently being reexamined, and will lead to the easing of the exaggerated bureaucratic limitations and the elimination of obsolete legal institutions. The government wants to considerably reduce the administrative budget of the central state administrative bodies, and in this way encourage and even force the rationalization of these organizations and activities.

I would like to announce here that the proposal aimed at abolishing the State Office for Church Affairs is on the agenda of the Council of Ministers. We will make a decision on this in the near future.

In the course of working out this proposal, we will take into consideration the recent social and political changes. We will continue to have a church policy in the future, too, but we will not implement this policy by means of administrative measures but primarily by political means.

We will refrain from any bureaucratic interference that violates the autonomy of various churches and religious denominations and which contradicts the development of freedom of conscience. Relations between the state and the church should be based on regular dialogue and on partnership relations.

Considerable and intensive criticism has been recently directed against the activity of the State Office for Youth and Sport Affairs [AISH] in various forums. First of all, many people called to account the measures taken in the interest of the young people, or rather the failure to take such measures, but the sports management has also been criticized. Although it is obviously true that these real or imagined failures cannot be unequivocally ascribed to the responsible body, we can clearly conclude today and we must openly declare that the establishment of the AISH was a mistaken decision. This body failed to satisfy the preliminary expectations. It failed to do so primarily in its activity carried out in the interest of the young people. In its defense, one should say that this body did not have the necessary means at its disposal, means that are essential for achieving success.

In accordance with this, we are also examining the possibility of reorganizing the management of this area. Work on this is already in progress, but it is already certain that the tasks related with the young people will be taken away from this body's sphere of authority. Consideration of the particular situation of young people, the improvement of the conditions of young people who are studying, starting their careers, or establishing a family, and the creation of institutions aimed at guaranteeing the implementation of all these tasks cannot be the jurisdiction of a central state body. In the measures they are taking, all the central bodies in all the areas should consider the special situation of the social strata that will make up the future generation. Only complex state activity can solve the problems facing young people.

We are also examining whether the central economic management bodies and their tasks are in harmony with the changed circumstances and with our economic goals. In this area, it is particularly true that we need to modify our management philosophy in accordance with the requirements of a mixed market economy, rather than to merely carry out small-scale adjustments in this philosophy. We want to implement the first steps of this modification in the framework of the reform of our budget and planning activity, the details of which we will work out by the end of this year.

The extent and content of state activity connected with prices, wages, competition, and labor affairs will change considerably, but so will the social demands in this area. Obviously, the organization should also follow these substantial changes.

However, we should adjust the organization to the tasks, and not the other way around. We should not make the mistake—which we repeatedly made in the past—of creating the organization first, and then tailoring the tasks to fit the organization. Therefore, it is too early to talk about specific ideas because these activities are still in the preliminary stage of preparation.

Esteemed National Assembly!

I think that parliamentary activity that has become more dynamic recently also represents the increased supervision of government activity. During their work, the various committees learn the details and control the government activity, and important questions of our social and economic life and political order are decided in plenary sessions, in the competence of parliament. I think that, despite the increased work pace and the shortcomings that occasionally emerge in the preparatory activity, the cooperation between parliament and the government has improved lately.

However, I think it is justified to include the non-confidence motion and vote into our operation. In case of alleged government mistakes, this would give the National Assembly the opportunity to question the qualification of the government, and would simultaneously create an opportunity for the government to strengthen parliamentary support for its actions. I think that this well-tested system in international practice would contribute to the cooperation between parliament and the government. The government is ready to accept this form of occasional supervision.

The new government wants to firmly face the situation, and act in order to halt the deterioration of our conditions. The government wants to preserve the ability of our society to function by simultaneously starting on the new development path.

I am aware that all the efforts of the government to implement this goal will not be enough if we do not obtain the support of social forces committed to reforms.

I am also aware that the current political power struggle and power evaluation are dividing precisely the people who are most committed to the cause of our nation.

I do not want to be part of any political struggle led by individual or group interests. Nor do I want to be a victim of all this! If our public life became dominated by such a struggle, self-mutilated forces would be able to run in the political struggle meant to be fought with genuine and honest means. This would weaken our nation's strength and would harm the chances of development. Our nation's creative energy would disperse in unworthy struggles for positions! Thus, a politician responsible for his people cannot participate in such a struggle.

We should avoid a confrontation of forces that are able to contribute to advancing themselves and the people. This nation deserves and rightfully demands responsible political activity, and not only from the National Assembly and the subordinated government, but also from every other political force.

Nowadays, it has become fashionable to question each other's political credit. It would be a problem if the political and moral credit were justified by words, and not by deeds. The government does not ask for unsecured credit from our society. Since 1948, this is the first government whose actions can be supervised in a democratic way, in a parliamentary framework. This is generally taking place both in parliament and in other public forums. This government really depends on the evaluation of the parliament and of the voters.

We have a common responsibility. Therefore, I call upon you to make sure that time does not flow through our hands! Let us make use of this historical opportunity together, and do everything that the interest of our nation requires of us, in a democratic framework, with confidence in each other and with responsibility, and by gathering the best forces of our nation.

Thank you for your attention!

Gyula Horn Interviewed on NATO Relations

LD1505230289 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1910 GMT 15 May 89

[Interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by unidentified correspondent in studio; from the "Panorama" program; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] This is the first time that I can greet Gyula Horn in this studio in his new capacity as foreign minister. What is your view of James Baker's negotiations in Moscow? Was it possible, in your view, to sense some kind of change in U.S. foreign policy, since there was discussion on the revision of this foreign policy?

[Horn] I do not believe that a kind of thorough, completely [words indistinct] thorough foreign policy change or entirely new foreign policy had been promulgated because this new U.S. foreign policy concept has not been completely formed yet, only its components exist. The administration is still working on it and in this it is very important that they should receive an incentive from the Soviet side and from their allies.

[Correspondent] According to news leaked out from Moscow, Bush's forthcoming European visit was mentioned, including the U.S. President stopping in Budapest and in Hungary too. [sentence as heard] How do the Soviets view this visit?

[Horn] This did not feature in the discussions as a separate agenda point, really it was only mentioned, but, after all, it is really the affair of the Hungarians and the Poles because the President will visit these two countries. I would underline that we have already begun preparations for this visit. We are trying to coordinate not only the visit's protocol aspect, but what is more important is that we want to strengthen, buttress the visit by concluding several significant bilateral agreements, accords, naturally both economic and commercial, which are very important, so the preparations of these have begun.

[Correspondent] How does the Soviet Union view this rapprochement, this new type of relationship, this new kind of relationship which (?is evolving) between the United States and Poland and Hungary respectively?

[Horn] It definitely assesses it positively.

[Correspondent] Regarding the Soviet proposals, to what extent do they affect us? I have in mind the disarmament proposals.

[Horn] Well, the proposal was formulated in that the Soviet Union would withdraw 500 tactical and nuclear weapons from the Warsaw Pact member states but the countries were not specified. The elaboration of details will come at a later stage.

[Correspondent] Can it be expected that a favorable development will occur in the issue of modernizing European short-range missiles?

[Horn] Well, this will be decided by the NATO summit at the end of this month. In my view, it would be very bad—without wanting to interfere in the internal affairs of NATO—if they decide in favor of modernization. And this comes from two points of view: first, this would weaken, under any circumstances, the significance of the Soviet-U.S. agreement and it would also lessen the importance of the so-called INF agreement which ruled on the withdrawal of the U.S and Soviet medium-range missiles deployed in Europe. They weaken this because what would be at issue would be the deployment of new modern weapons with a 350-500-km range. Nobody can yet state exactly what kind of missiles these would be but, under any circumstances, they would reach member states of the Warsaw Pact. Secondly, it would be, in my view, negatively and unfavorably influencing the outcome of the Vienna disarmament talks on the reduction of conventional forces and military weaponry.

If I can advise, or express an opinion to my NATO colleagues, I would propose that they should not, just now, make a decision on the modernization, but that they should make the decision dependent on the result achieved in Vienna. Because, after all, the issue of tactical nuclear weapons cannot be separated indirectly—even if it is possible to do so directly—from the subject of conventional weapons, the military tools.

[Correspondent] The NATO member states—and this has been said by Secretary General Woerner to us—have also had arguments before. There has not always been agreement among them and he explained this by saying that it was a sign of democracy. Recently we have been able to observe that such differences of views, even conflicts—Hungarian-Romanian relations, for example—exist also among the socialist countries, the Warsaw Pact member states, and we see that rapprochements, distancing, and certain groupings are evolving. In the coming days, President Ceausescu will visit Prague, earlier he visited the GDR. Is it possible to assume that what is at issue here is possibly the formulation of a kind of axis perhaps?

[Horn] Look, what you said at the beginning of your question is that if democracy depends on the existence of debate within the alliance systems, then among us democracy is at a very high level because very tough and fundamental arguments are taking place, particularly in the past 3 years when considerable development has taken place within the Warsaw Pact. However, regarding the essence of your question. First, it is not new but a tradition that Warsaw Pact leaders should hold bilateral meetings from time to time—just as we, too, are holding such meetings with the other partners and allies. The second thing is that in my view there is no talk whatsoever about a separate axis, or about the formation of a bloc within the bloc or grouping. There is no talk about it because, since many member-states exist, many kinds of policies are also carried out within national boundaries. For example, Hungarian matters cannot be identified completely with the transformations taking place in Poland or the Soviet Union either. In all cases, national characteristics, peculiarities, and national trademarks prevail, and so on and so on.

Czechoslovakia is very seriously considering—and it has also done much in achieving economic reform—dealing with the reform of the political system, the system of political institutions. The situation is a little bit different in the GDR because there the basic approaches are completely different from those in Hungary or in Czechoslovakia or in Poland because such tenets as pluralism or the multiparty system, or for that matter, the needs of market relations are rejected by official policy. Romania is again completely different because in Romania it is promulgated that there is no other correct, passable path but the Ceausescu policy.

In other words, differences exist even between the first three countries mentioned or, on this side, among these three other countries.

[Correspondent] However, there is still one thing that brings them together: that they observe with not too excessive sympathy what is taking place in the Soviet Union these days.

[Horn] The leaders themselves should be asked about all this.

[Correspondent] The Czechoslovak dailies accuse the Hungarian Government today of having tried to primarily achieve popularity and not rationality when it suspended the construction work at Boes-Nagymaros.

[Horn] Well, this government needs popularity in this serious situation in which it, as well as the entire society, finds itself but (?I think) that here the considerations of rationality were decisive. For what are we talking about? Since October of last year examinations have been carried out ceaselessly in order for us to determine the consequences—not necessarily only economic ones—of the works. They are to determine how much the construction of the entire project will cost and even more importantly, how much additional investment relating to the increasing demands of environmental protection, will add up to.

However, these examinations are also carried out to establish as to what the direct impact this whole construction will have on the ecological status of this part of the country, and so on. Well, it was this that the

government discussed thoroughly and fundamentally on 1 April and it did so on Saturday [13 May] as well. Finally, we came to the conclusion unanimously, every member of the government, that as yet today it is impossible to precisely calculate the ecological effects. If such unfavorable effects occur which (?I can now forecast) like for example, the water level of the Danube River, the hot water springs here, drought on agricultural lands, or seismographic effects, that is, the danger of an earthquake or effects related to it—then these must be determinative in the decision about the entire works. So, also for this reason the government came to the conclusion that it would suspend further work so that we can again examine these weighty issues, if possible, involving international, impartial experts and to offer a proposal to parliament on the basis of this regarding the fate of the construction.

[Correspondent] In an earlier parliamentary debate you said that should we abrogate the agreement we could be charged with breach of contract and we should then have to accept the serious consequences of this.

[Horn] Yes, but I would still like to make this statement more precise—and I am still saying now what I said then—that such an international agreement can be cancelled in two cases. One case would be if a mistake has been committed by either side. This case does not apply because no mistake has been made. The other case applies—and this is the situation today—if such circumstances, unforseeable conditions and, what is more, serious ones, develop that could not have been foreseen at the time of the conclusion of the agreement. In such a case an international treaty can be cancelled without it constituting a breach of that agreement. And if the earlier mentioned serious ecologicial environmental protection problems could not have been foreseen at the time, then this must be viewed in international law, international practice, and state to state relations as such a factor that does not constitute a breach of agreement, does not mean abrogating a treaty but, on the contrary, provides grounds for the renegotiation of the agreement.

At the end of the debate the government members unanimously voted in favor of the suspension.

[Correspondent] Laszlo Marothy as well?

[Horn] Laszlo Marothy also took cognizance of it.

CPSU's Falin Assesses Changes in Hungary

LD1205101689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] The Soviet Union is calmly following with interest the changes in Hungary, Falin, chief of the International Department of the Soviet party leadership, has said in Vienna. He noted that if decisions are made on the basis of the interests of the country as a whole, then these are received in Moscow as the free choices of the Hungarian people. He added that the Hungarian leadership bears responsibility for developments. Falin also spoke about the fact that the Hungarian people have decided freely on the abolition of border fortifications.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Holds Briefing

LD1505153689 Budapest MTI in English 1338 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 15 (MTI)—As reported, there was a spokesman's briefing this morning at the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

On the issue of the invitation of Corneliu Manescu to Hungary, Istvan Komoroczki reminded journalists of the fact that the elderly politician was in internal exile and his poor state of health was a cause for concern. He was apparently also worried about the plight of the Romanian six and trying to draw the attention of international public opinion to their fate. At the same time, he refuted accusations that Hungary was interfering in Romania's internal affairs. 'It is a worldwide practice for a country to invite foreign citizens for medical treatment,' he said.

Mr Komoroczki announced that Foreign Minister Gyula Horn was to pay an official visit to Yugoslavia soon.

Answering questions, the spokesman said, 'The Czechoslovak ambassador has been officially notified of the government decision to suspend the constructions at Nagymaros. No official response has been received so far.'

In reply to a question from the REUTER correspondent, he said, 'talks between Hungary and Israel are still under way to restore diplomatic relations. A lot of problems still need clearing up, but it is the political intention of both Hungary and Israel to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level as early as this year.'

Hungary 'Ready, Open' for Ties With Romania

LD1605085189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] The Madrid paper EL PAIS writes that Romania has asked the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee to convene an extraordinary session.

At the Warsaw Pact forum the Romanian leadership clearly intends to debate the Hungarian process of democratization, which it qualifies as antisocialist and considers dangerous to the East European states, writes the Madrid paper.

Our correspondent, Jozsef Laszlo, asked Foreign Minister Gyula Horn about this issue.

[Begin recording] [Horn] Such a proposal has not been conveyed to us; I was also only informed about it through news reports. We are saying here, at the airport waiting for Miklos Nemeth, that allegedly Romania or

the Romanian leadership has turned to the other member states with such a request. It did not turn to us to ask us to gather together. Last year in Warsaw the situation and condition of Hungarian-Romanian relations did not come up at the session of the consulting body. This was not mentioned also because the way in which relations, ties, and cooperation between member states develop is always the internal affair of the two states and the discussion of this does not belong to the authority of the organization.

[Laszlo] In your opinion, is it inconcievable that such a question should be discussed by the political consulting body and, what is more, should it hold an extraordinary session on this matter?

[Horn] I consider it completely out of the question. I do not think that it would have a serious basis. If the Romanian side wants to initiate something regarding the question or matter of Hungarian-Romanian relations, there are suitable interparty and interstate channels for this. We are ready and open regarding the relations between the two countries, and to talk about any questions with the Romanian partners. [end recording]

Ilie Ceaucescu on Hungary's 'Hostile' Policy
LD1605103889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] According to Lieutenant General Ilie Ceausescu, Romanian deputy minister of national defense, Hungary's revisionist and revanchist policy has created an openly hostile situation between the two countries.

The general, who is the brother of the Romanian president, writing in a military history journal adds that the attitude of official Hungarian propaganda in many areas is more retrograde than was that of the Horthyite system.

Ilie Ceausescu writes that raising the problems of the Hungarian minorities living abroad is aimed at diverting the population's attention from internal difficulties.

The high-ranking military officer compares this method to the policy of Hitlerite Germany, whose main aim was to obtain territory.

According to Romania, the prying [firtatas] into human rights means nothing more than the fact that Hungary had made a new compromise with the most conservative and the most reactionary forces. The general claims that Hungary acted this way earlier, as a part of the Habsburg empire, and also when it concluded an alliance with the Hitlerite Third Reich and the Italian fascist regime.

Group Says Romanian Citizens 'Robbed' of Rights
LD1205021789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2200 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] The Hungarian Solidarity Committee condemned Romania because the inhabitants of that country have been robbed of their fundamental human rights and because the Romanian leadership's dictatorial economic policy has impoverished the people. According to the group, this situation hits the nationalities, among them the Hungarian minority, particularly hard.

Grosz Welcomes International Roundtable Guests
LD1205174689 Budapest MTI in English 1536 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 12 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party, gave a reception in honour of the international many-party roundtable, Friday noon.

Mr Grosz greeted the representatives of the 21 parties from Europe and North America and termed the work of the conference as highly important and an indication that Hungary requires the experience of European and other nations and is open to all forms of political, economic and humanitarian cooperation.

CSSR Leadership Greeted on Liberation Day
LD0805192289 Budapest MTI in English 1848 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 8 (MTI)—To mark the 44th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, and Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent telegrams to Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Gustav Husak, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and Ladislav Adamec, head of the Czechoslovak Government.

Matyas Szuros, president of the National Assembly, cabled his gretings to Alois Indra, president of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia.

Nemeth Receives Canadian Businessmen 11 May
LD1105141589 Budapest MTI in English 1330 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 11 (MTI)—On Thursday, Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met in his office the visiting delegation from the Canadian-Hungarian Business and Trade Council, headed by Andrew Sarlos and Patrick Keenan.

The cordial discussion was attended by Derek Fraser, Canadian ambassador to Hungary.

Korom Discusses Parliamentary Resignation
LD1605082389 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] [Announcer] About 2 weeks ago we reported that the Kiskunfelegyhaza organization of the Hungarian Democratic Forum initiated the collection of signatures for the recall of their parliamentary deputy, Mihaly Korom. He gives his view of the matter today:

[Begin Korom recording] I have decided to resign my deputy mandate. I give it back to you, I give it back to the electorate of Kiskunfelegyhaza. [end recording]

[Announcer] The collected signatures, totalling 2,939, were handed over officially this afternoon by the representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum to the Kiskenfelegyhaza Electoral Presidium. Then an extraordinary municipal session of the people's front began with a single item on the agenda: the recall of Mihaly Korom.

In this presence they read the letter by Laszlo Szabo, a teacher from Budapest who, referring to documents, disclosed the denigration of himself and his family after 1956, in which Mihaly Korom played a direct role. The case the letter refers to is similar to that when Mihaly Korom rejected the plea for help by Imre Nagy's daughter. Finally, the writer of the letter proposes that the party committee and the people's front should join in the recall of the deputy. But there was no need for that.

Composition of Show Trials Committee Challenged
LD1205183589 Budapest MTI in English 1726 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 12 (MTI)—The Hungarian Committee for Historical Justice protested in a statement, Friday, against the composition of the legal committee set up to re-examine the show trials. In their view most of the members of the committee are unsuited to explore the facts, both professionally and politically.

For instance, the committee indicates that Dr Karoly Szijarto, chief public prosecutor, is heading the re-examination of the trial of Imre Nagy and his associates, although in 1981 Mr Szijarto termed the trial against Imre Nagy, who became a traitor, as lawful procedure. Mr Szijarto was a member of the Military Board of the Supreme Court in the 1950s and handed down political verdicts. Furthermore, when Imre Pozsgay, Minister of State, heading the Historical Committee requested by the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] analysing the 1956 events termed them a popular uprising, the party committee of the Supreme Court sent a protest letter on the stand taken.

The announcement of the chief public prosecutor, that several months are needed to re-examine the cases, underlies the conviction of the committee that the chief public prosecutor is endeavouring to delay the re-examination, the document stressed.

According to the document, it is also unacceptable to have Hungary's interests represented in Gorbachev's Soviet Union by the same Dr Sandor Rajnai, ambassador, who arrested Imre Nagy and his associates, then directed the investigations against them.

Imre Nagy's Daughter Addresses Italian Congress
LD1505213789 Budapest MTI in English 2023 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Milan, May 15 (MTI)—The Congress of the Italian Socialist Party heard with great sympathy the address of Erzsebet Nagy, the daughter of Imre Nagy, who was the last speaker of the day. Ms Nagy voiced her thanks to the Italian Socialist Party, that it provided an opportunity to honour the memory of her father, and that it had fostered, perhaps more consistently and effectively than all other parties and political forces, the memory of Imre Nagy and his associates over the past years. Erzsebet Nagy invited the representatives of the Italian Socialist Party to attend the ceremonious funeral on june 16, at plot 301, where the victims of 1956 shall be commemorated.

In the following, she set forth the democratic demands which the opposition holds necessary to create a "genuine social democracy" in Hungary: free elections, a constitution put to referendum by the parliament elected in this way, independent jurisdiction, the abolition of the death penalty, academic freedom, the freedom of intellectual life and creation, and full publicity.

Ms Nagy stressed that instead of the spirit of revenge, the spirit of reconciliation and social peace in needed to realize all these. She requested the assistance of the Italian Socialist Party, Italy and West Europe to bridge the economic and social difficulties of Hungary. She voiced her confidence, noting: the Hungarian people are sufficiently adult and mature enough to be able to reach results in the realization of these goals.

Walesa Addresses 5,000 in Village Near Krakow

Vote for 'Good' Candidates

AU1505161689 Paris AFP in English
1552 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Raclawice, Poland, May 15 (AFP)—Lech Walesa called on the Polish electorate Monday to vote for "good" government candidates as well as members of his Solidarity trade union in the June legislative and Senate elections.

The Solidarity leader also rebutted allegations that he had collaborated with the government by urging workers not to strike, saying: "I have not sold myself to the government or anyone else."

Addressing some 5,000 people in this village near Krakow, Mr. Walesa said: "You shouldn't strike out whole lists of candidates. You must choose well, because there are people of value and generosity among them."

In addition to communist party members, the government list includes candidates from its partners in government, the Peasants' Party and Democratic Party.

Among them are leading reformers such as Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak, Stanislaw Ciosek, a member of the communist party leadership, and Stanislaw Kania, who was removed as the party's first secretary shortly before the December 1981 imposition of martial law.

General Kiszczak and Mr. Ciosek have frequently held talks with the Solidarity leader.

Mr. Walesa also called on critics not to accuse him of "collusion" with the authorities for having appealed to workers not to strike because of the country's economic problems.

"I have not sold myself to the government or anyone else. However I cannot go on endlessly putting pressure on the government...because these strikes are only destabilising the political situation...and holding off the end of the tunnel."

Warsaw Radio Reports Speech

LD1505194189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 15 May 89

[Correspondent's report from election meeting in Raclawice]

[Text] Preceded by an honorary escort of horsemen, Lech Walesa arrived at the Kosciuszko Hill in Raclawice in the presence of numerous farmers who had gathered. It was the 2d day of Whitsun ceremonies of the peasant holiday organized by the Malopolska region Solidarity Citizens Committee in Kielce, during which candidate deputies and senators were presented. Referring to the approaching elections Lech Walesa said:

[Begin Walesa recording] This is not yet a free Poland; it is not yet a democratic Poland; but it is great a step in that direction and the rest, really, depends on us if we use it. However, if you are going to stand on the sidelines, if you are going to stand by and watch, perhaps it'll succeed, perhaps it won't succeed. If you say: Maybe I'll join in or maybe I won't, well then others will create a (?position) for you and you'll only be consumers of Poland, but it will rather not be a good Poland. That is also why you shouldn't stand on the side lines. Poland does not belong to any party, police, or other group. Poland belongs to all of you. [applause] And you should make it a better Poland. [applause] [end recording]

Further on Walesa Remarks

LD1505205889 Warsaw PAP in English
1944 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Kielce, May 15—"...A bishop, an authority, Solidarity—are all present on the meadows of Raclawice today. It is good for such is this country," Lech Walesa today told an election rally of Solidarity citizens' committees of the Swietokrzyski and Krakow regions, organized on the 195th anniversary of the victorious battle of Tadeusz Kosciuszko's peasant fighters with Russian troops.

Lech Walesa said among other things: to settle relations and cooperation between workers and peasants is possible even though those classes have discordant interests. For the time being we cannot afford free prices of food, although we will strive for such prices in the future.

Speaking about Western attitude to Polish affairs Lech Walesa said: The West is convinced and so are we that even though communists are still in power in Poland, quite different people are at the helm today, people who are willing, too. Capitalists will help us only if there is peace and order in Poland. They must be convinced that nobody is going to burn the dollar they invest in Poland. Strikes at present lead to no good. I realize that a thousand difficult matters still wait to be solved in Poland. But let us tackle one thing at a time—first let us organize ourselves, let us elect wise people to the Sejm and the Senate, keeping in mind that the coalition-government side also has responsible and wise candidates. Only then, in peace, will we solve all problems of ours.

The participants in the rally took part in a field Mass celebrated by Bishop Julian Grobicki of Krakow.

Next Solidarity candidates for deputies and senators met with farmers. Among those presenting their programmes were Solidarity chairman from Nowa Huta Mieczyslaw Gil. They said opposition faced a great chance which

should not be wasted. The oncoming elections constitute an introduction to co-deciding about problems of Poles, development of self-management and expansion of democracy, they said.

KPN Chairman Outlines Election Strategy

LD1505215289 Warsaw PAP in English
2029 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 15—Leszek Moczulski [KPN chairman] told a press conference here today that the Confederation for Independent Poland, KPN, had proposed sixteen candidates for deputies and five candidates for senators.

The KPN, an illegal political organization, has been undertaking, especially in recent months, attempts at disturbing public peace using anti-state, anti-government and anti-communist slogans.

Speaking about the election programme of his supporters, Moczulski said that all of them were linked by an independence and anti-communist idea. In reply to a question of whom those activists would be supporting apart from their own candidates Moczulski said that with the KPN being a movement of radicals, it would also support more radical candidates from the list of the Solidarity Citizens' Committee. For instance, as regards candidates running in the Warsaw district of Zoliborz, they would support Jacek Kuron and they would not support lawyer Sila-Nowicki.

Moczulski said that the first postulate by deputies and senators from his organization, should they enter legislative bodies, will be that to dissolve the Sejm and declare new elections. And then he warned that if KPN representatives failed to sit in parliament, its activists would fight in the streets.

Editor Criticizes Solidarity Election Campaign

LD1505173189 Warsaw PAP in English
1645 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 15—"That what I have observed in the past week, especially from the pages of the "GAZETA WYBORCZA" (ELECTION GAZETTE) does not indicate the strict observance of a provision included in round table agreements: Sides will 'make necessary efforts so that the campaign would contribute to the shaping of tolerant and democratic political culture in our country," Editor-in-Chief of PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] daily TRYBUNA LUDU Jerzy Majka said in his editorial today.

The attack of the "GAZETA WYBORCZA" against Jerzy Urban is an evidence of other from agreed upon political culture—intolerant and having little in common with the democratic order which we intend to create. [sentence as received] With Adam Michnik we differ in views but...I never assumed that as editor-in-chief of the "GAZETA WYBORCZA" he would patronize such primitive slanders.

"The governing coalition and the opposition must have a joint stand on at least two issues, the foreign policy and the observance of the legal order. Priorities and evasions in the 'Polska i Swiat' (Poland and the World) statement, formulating the stand of the Civic Committee 'Solidarity' on foreign policy show that there is a long way to such unity of views. Especially on issues decisive about Poland's security and her boundaries.

"If the opposition would have had real hopes during the round table negotiations for obtaining during the elections to the Sejm a better result than the 35 per cent of mandates, for which it will campaign, then it would not agree on such a distribution of seats, demanding more," stressed Majka and added that electoral lists also include representatives of the extreme nationalistic and right "Konfederacja Polski ni Eglej" (Confederation of Independent Poland).

U.S. Group Plans To Finance Election Candidates

LD1505225989 Warsaw PAP in English
2219 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Washington, May 15—A newly created American organization in Chicago, led by a banker Thomas Gobby, intends to offer financial assistance to "independent candidates" in Polish elections.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, a former national security adviser of U.S. President, is the chairman of the Honorary Committee of the Organization for Polish Elections.

A special event will shortly be held under the auspices of the organization in Chicago. The proceeds will be earmarked for the activities of Solidarity Citizen's Electoral Committee.

Gobby said that his organization was not getting directly involved in the election process but was only assisting the campaign, to be precise the campaign of Solidarity Citizen's Committee.

However, a question arises of how to reconcile the declaration of no direct involvement with the direct financing of one group participating in the elections.

Hungary's Nemeth Visits, Holds Negotiations

Arrives on Visit

LD1405212389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Miklos Nemeth, premier of the Hungarian Government, has arrived in Poland today on a friendly working visit. He is the guest of Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Tomorrow the Hungarian premier will hold talks with the leading representatives of Poland's political and

economic life. (?The visit) is taking place in a period when fundamental transformations in the political and socioeconomic life of both states are taking place.

Report on Nemeth's Talks

LD1505191589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Gabor Nemes reports from Warsaw on the negotiations Premier Miklos Nemeth held in Poland today.

[Nemes] The strong alliance of reform forces is the determining element of our relationship, Miklos Nemeth said at his news conference which is just ending now. He added that it is very important that reform forces should organize themselves in the government—he had the governments of both countries in mind. This was what he discussed with Premier Rakowski and party First Secretary Jaruzelski, and very interestingly journalists immediately asked whether it means the formation of some kind of Budapest-Warsaw-Moscow axis. Miklos Nemeth's reply was that axes have never proved successful in Europe mainly because they do not serve the cause of peace. A progressive axis may be an exception—he would accept such an axis with pleasure, and both countries may accept it all the more because all this can have an effect not only on Hungarian-Polish or Hungarian-Polish-Soviet relations but on the construction of the entire European home.

At the same time Miklos Nemeth made no secret of the existence of serious differences—together with similarities—in the Hungarian and Polish reform processes. The efforts of both countries are aimed at a modern, civic society, a constitutional state, and a market economy based on mixed ownership. But at the same time there are great differences with regard to traditions, the historical past, and the present political and economic situation. In Poland the most important area of battle is trade union pluralism, the most important issue of fighting lies in the legalization of Solidarity. Political parties already exist in Poland—true, they are not the type of party which is beginning to form in Hungary but are confined to a kind of transmission belt role, that is, a Stalinist type of party, if you like.

We in Hungary are now working for the reform of the new or the old parties and we cannot, under any circumstances, accept the kind of agreement adopted by the Polish roundtable, that is, where the proportion of seats in the parliament to be allocated after the election is already determined in advance, Miklos Nemeth said, because in Hungary the parties in competition with each other will participate in the elections.

In answer to journalists' questions about when these elections will take place and whether they should be moved up, the premier said that next summer or fall an election will have to be held. Counting backwards from this, on the basis of the results of negotiations with the opposition roundtable, really any date is conceivable, starting from early fall this year. The government does not want, under any circumstances, to decide this issue single-handedly; everything depends on the results of the Hungarian roundtable.

After these, only questions of bilateral relations and CEMA remain but these created a very big argument between journalists and Miklos Nemeth. The journalists enquired particularly about what the Hungarian-Polish relationship can give to CEMA. Can any progress be conceivable while the whole is not reformed? Miklos Nemeth replied that he was not optimistic either about the renewal of CEMA but CEMA in its entirety cannot, under any circumstances, adjust to the country which is moving the slowest. That is, one or two countries can try out—even in their bilateral relations—new methods which then can be joined by others if they want to. All of this takes place not against the others but for the renewal of CEMA.

The question of credits is a burning issue both in Hungarian and Polish relations. Miklos Nemeth informed everybody that, considering Hungary's debt, no one can have illusions about our obtaining either greater credits or aid, but, following Poland's experiences Hungary will want to avoid, under any circumstances, and will do everything to avoid the rescheduling of its debt. Really, with a tough economic policy it would be still possible to gain the sympathy of Western capital because somewhere that, too, has an interest in pulling Hungary and Poland from the trough.

One other issue was discussed at the news conference before I had to leave; the question of neutrality. Miklos Nemeth said neutrality is desirable direction but until the military blocs are dismantled this can only be an intention. But as soon as the military blocs are dismantled and disarmament reaches a point, neutrality will be incorporated organically in the international system, and people too will get used to this neutrality.

Miklos Nemeth summed up the results of his negotiations by emphasizing throughout that while the two sides do not hold identical views all the time, their views are extraordinarily close and the two countries' external and domestic as well as economic political efforts, do, in general, coincide.

Rakowski, Nemeth Hold Talks

LD1505183889 Warsaw PAP in English 1652 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 15 (MTI)—Hungarian-Polish prime ministerial talks opened on Monday in Warsaw with an almost three-and-a-half hour long private discussion. Prime Ministers Miklos Nemeth and Mieczyslaw Rakowski mutually and thoroughly briefed each other about the state of their countries.

Mr Nemeth then gave a brief statement about the talks. He said the situation in both countries demands to thoroughly inform each other about political and economic reforms, and international issues. We reviewed the efforts that are similar in our countries, and serve the renewal of the political system of institutions, Mr Nemeth said. It became clear at our talks that both governments and parties are progressing towards the separation of the party and the state with considerable steps. Our intentions coincide also in that the remnants of the Stalinist model have to be eliminated.

We also agreed, continued the Hungarian prime minister, that the governments should become power centres that shape policy, forces which determine the content and pace of the reforms. It is the obligation of the government to set down the agreements reached between the parties in laws, and to create the conditions of a peaceful political and economic transition.

Mr Nemeth said that both sides termed the Soviet reforms as of vital importance from the point of view of the two countries' future. They also agreed that Hungary and Poland are responsible for the success of the Soviet reforms, as the reforms taking place in these three countries are interrelated.

Discussing Hungarian-Polish economic relations, Mr Nemeth said: We stated that everything should be done in the interest that we shift the CMEA reform towards the tendency of commodity and money relations but, starting from the realities, cooperation can be placed on new bases at present mainly in bilateral relations. We plan to introduce new methods, including the new accounting system, which prevent a reduction of commercial turnover.

Mr Rakowski also was very satisfied with his talks with the Hungarian prime minister. He said they reviewed all issues that concern Poland and Hungary. Apart from the political and economic reforms, they exchanged views on the international situation of Hungary and Poland. Mr Rakowski was of the opinion that the current, first meeting, which was aimed at getting to know each other, could have lasted for further hours, in view of the diversity and importance of the themes, all the more so as he found Mr Nemeth to be a particularly interesting negotiating partner, a politician of an extremely wide intellectual horizon.

At the end of the morning talks, Mr Rakowski hosted a gala lunch in honour of Mr Nemeth and his party.

PAP Report on Visit

LD1505214189 Warsaw PAP in English 2038 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 15—Premier of the Hungarian People's Republic Miklos Nemeth paid a friendly working visit to Poland and held talks here today.

In the forenoon, the Hungarian premier met with his Polish counterpart Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski. The two premiers held a three-hour talk during which they briefed each other on the socio-political situation in Poland and Hungary. The sides stressed the firm will of the two countries to further develop socialist democracy and pointed to the convergence of views on all discussed matters.

The meeting focused also on international problems. Nemeth and Rakowski exchanged experiences and opinions on cooperation of Poland and Hungary in the pan-European scale and particularly the contacts with the European Economic Community and cooperation within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The two premiers stressed that it is necessary to improve cooperation within CMEA and to change the mechanisms of financial settlements between CMEA member-states.

In their statement for the press after the talks, Rakowski and Nemeth expressed their satisfaction over the talks and deemed it purposeful to intensify contacts on this level and stressed the need for permanent development of Polish-Hungarian relations in all fields.

At noon, the Hungarian premier was received by PUWP CC first secretary, President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski.

In the afternoon, Miklos Nemeth held a press conference, during which he told journalists that the aim of the visit was to get acquainted with the process of transformations in Poland which Hungarian follows with interest.

"Our goals are identical or similar. We cannot convey to each other prescriptions because they do not exist. Each country makes use of experiences from its past and it must form its model of development while basing on own determinants and realities," the Hungarian premier said.

"The talks were particularly valuable for me as they let me get acquainted with Polish experiences in the creation of pluralistic society. In this respect Poland is ahead of us though as concerns other issues, we, in turn, lead over you" Nemeth said adding that the "round table" in Poland had been a historic event which allowed to normalize social relations and facilitated the implementation of reforms.

"Our economic ties are very close. Nevertheless, in multilateral cooperation there is still much to be done. We have acknowledged, for instance, that solutions applied within CMEA are outdated. This particularly concerns financial settlements. Therefore, as concerns our countries we are trying to adopt such a system which would be balanced and mutually profitable."

Asked about similarities and differences in Polish and Hungarian transformations, Miklos Nemeth said that the most visible similarity is Poland's and Hungary's striving for market economy.

Asked why the announced meeting between the Hungarian premier and Poland's primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp failed to materialize, Nemeth said that in fact such a meeting had been planned. However, Poland's primate had answered with regret that he could not hold such a meeting due to his participation in the ceremonies marking the annivesary of the battle of Monte Cassino.

In the evening, bidden farewell by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, the Hungarian premier left for Budapest.

Justice Minister Cited on Draft Law Features

LD1505173389 Warsaw PAP in English
1625 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 15,—"Today one can say that we are coming closer to European standards regarding the number of people imprisoned to the number of inhabitants," Poland's justice minister told the government daily RZECZPOSPOLITA today.

"The number of prisoners decreased since 1986 from 114 thousand to 63 thousand. This enabled for a radical improvement of living conditions in over-crowded prisons," Minister Lukasz Balcer said, adding that the annual cost related to the imprisonment of one person will probably exceed 1 million zloties this year. The number of offences dropped in 1988 by over 33 thousand, that is by 6.5 per cent.

Discussing the draft abolition law, Balcer said that "Abolition will not be mandatory. Each decision concerning its application is liable to appeal before a higher instance." He rejected rumours that the abolition will enable for an earlier release from prisons, for example Piotrowski, Pietruszka or Pekala (sentenced for the murder of Father Popieluszko). "The abolition does not cover perpetrators of crimes punishable by over three years of imprisonment. Such crimes were committed by the above mentioned persons."

The second draft law forwarded to parliament recently proposes the amendment of the penal and petty offence codes and the Law on the Office of the Minister of Internal Affairs. "It includes all changes initially agreed upon during debates of the team for reforms of law and courts." Voiced is a need for a quick adjustment of solutions binding in Poland to the international pact of civic and political rights as well as to the so called U.N. minimum rules in the field of penal code. The draft in a deisive way brings us closer to world standards." [quotation marks as received]

*Olechowski on CEMA Ties, Opposition Role

26000479 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
4 May 89 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Tadeusz Olechowski, minister of foreign affairs, by RZECZPOSPOLITA journalists: "Polish Foreign Policy in the Time of Reevaluation"; date, place not given; first paragraph is RZECZPOSPOLITA introduction]

[Text] As we have already reported, several days ago Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski met with the management and journalists from the foreign desk of the editorial office of our newspaper. In the course of this meeting Tadeusz Olechowski responded to the questions of RZECZPOSPOLITA journalists.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] In your last speech in the Sejm, you said that Polish foreign policy is, on the one hand, a policy of continuity in basic principles, while on the other hand, it is a policy of changes, a flexible interpretation of our national interests, as well as their redefinition. What do these last words mean?

[Olechowski] We are witnessing a profound transformation of the socialist system in Poland. It is taking place in the environment of increasing interdependence throughout the world, and increasing awareness of common dangers.

The process of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, which parallels the direction of Polish renewal, favors a search for unprecedented arrangements and working out new principles and mechanisms of government in our country. The abandonment of confrontation in the relations between the East and the West increases the feeling of external security, and opens up new opportunities and avenues for the development of mutually advantageous cooperation. The deideologization of interstate relations and the primacy of general human concerns and values reinforces the pragmatism of thinking, and promotes more complete expression of the interests of the people, the state, and the individual.

Foreign policy, if it does not want to be left on the sidelines of processes and phenomena under way, should search vigorously and ahead of time for the optimal instruments of achieving its goals and objectives, which are closely tied to, and result from the internal needs of both the entire state and its citizens. The common expectation is that the policy will be marked by its dynamics, rationality, and far-reaching pragmatism. After all, we have dealt on too many occasions with lofty words and gestures which were not accompanied by genuine partnership and specific content. Too many barriers and biases have been created which have made it impossible to define the national interest precisely.

In answering the specific question, let me refer to the example of restrictions on using the achievements of human civilization caused by ideological prejudice. The

fear of opening our borders, of the influx of new ideas and thoughts, which was accompanied by restrictions in the movement of people from the East to the West and in the opposite direction, has brought about irreparable losses not only in culture, but also in science, technology, and economy. At present, Poland is among the countries which altogether resolutely demand the elimination of barriers in contacts between people. We also take a different view of the contacts and ties with our fellow Poles residing abroad. The defense of our citizens beyond the borders of the country has been elevated to priority status.

A similar rethinking of values is under way in other spheres; suffice it to mention bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the socialist countries, our attitude toward integration processes in the West, a search for opportunities for establishing direct economic ties with the economies of the EEC states and other West European countries, our approach to the so-called global challenges, in particular the ecological catastrophe.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Reinforcing and developing relations with the socialist countries remains the main avenue. We now define these relations as a transition from the stage of monolithic unity to the unity of variations, and we are trying to treat possible contradictions in interests as natural. Would you please comment on it in more detail.

[Olechowski] Indeed, strengthening and developing our relations with the socialist countries belongs among the main priorities of Polish foreign policy. This was emphasized in the stance of our Sejm during a recent discussion of foreign policy objectives by deputies. I also believe that comprehension of the soundness of this significant priority is being reflected in social consciousness. Among other things, the fact that there was no need to analyze our foreign policy and eventually repattern it within the framework of the proceedings of the roundtable testifies to this. Therefore, we may believe that a social consensus exists in this matter. There is, however, the question of the current reason for justifying this exact priority of our foreign policy.

Responding briefly, I will say that the national interests of our country are such a reason. It is exactly in relations with the socialist countries that the focus of our broadest economic, social, and cultural interests is. We also associate our political interests and those of our security with belonging to the commonwealth of socialist countries. I believe that this becomes understandable for everyone when he grasps the scope and forms of our economic cooperation with the socialist countries, and the extent and nature of social ties.

Without undertaking a profound evaluation of the degree to which all potential opportunities for cooperation with partners from among the socialist countries have been or are being used in order to secure maximum benefits for Poland, we may say that we definitely are far away from being completely satisfied. We should keep this in mind, especially at present, when the number of national entities participating in relations with foreign countries is increasing. Securing benefits for Poland and not harming the pursuit of Polish national interests in cooperation with other socialist states should be the most important criterion for evaluating the participation of all domestic parties to cooperation with foreign partners.

In the question, it was mentioned that relations between the socialist countries are at the stage of transition from monolithic unity to the unity of variations. I think we may agree with this opinion. Indeed, in the mutual relations of the socialist countries, bilateral as well as multilateral, we are abandoning the situation whereby we assiduously concealed what was different between us, what was specific, national interest under the "umbrella" of the ideological and political unity of the entire system, and, subsequently, the bloc of socialist states. The role of socialist internationalism as the ideological and theoretical foundation for shaping relations within the framework of the commonwealth of socialist countries declines as the thesis on the need to deideologize international relations is accepted, and "new thinking" on the issues of mankind is initiated. This foundation is increasingly complemented by the category of national interests as the driving force of behaviors in interstate relations in this group of states as well. This is also a reason why a situation may develop in the process of shaping relations which in the question was defined as a contradiction in interests. This is natural, just as it is natural that some interests of individual peoples and states may be different, and their contact in the dimension of international relations may cause a collision. This is all the more so because, after a period when one's own separate national and state interests were sort of "frozen," their externalization is somewhat spontaneous in nature, and it brings out emotions. All of this is happening in an environment where instruments of a diplomatic and political nature, which are necessary for reconciling individual interests with the common one, and for resolving early eventual conflict situations among the states of our commonwealth, have not been worked out yet. Therefore, under such circumstances, all of us have a lot to learn so that the principle of new partnership in the relations of socialist countries serves better to develop these relations comprehensively, rather than place restrictions on their development. Such a need increases in particular at present, when the variety of arrangements used in the sociopolitical and economic life in individual socialist countries is enhanced, which influences their foreign policy. The latter amounts to nothing else but creating optimal external conditions for the internal development of societies in these states.

I am convinced that the process of changes in relations between socialist countries now under way, which makes them more authentic and natural, will facilitate the strengthening of partnership ties binding the states of our commonwealth.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Many statements made in the socialist states conjure up the image of a confrontation of sorts between, speaking conventionally, "old-type socialism" and "new socialism." Regardless of its influence on mutual relations, does this "unity of variations" weaken the actions of the commonwealth on issues which are in the nature of bloc interests?

[Olechowski] Without going into the details of the issue of interpreting what was referred to in the question as a confrontation of sorts between "old-type socialism" and "new socialism," we should stress once again that every people has a right to choose such a way and mode of development which agrees with it [the nation], which is often associated with traditions and national interests. I believe that at present the most favorable conditions for the fullest possible freedom of such choice are emerging as in no other period of history. As a result, this "variety" in the socialist states appears which is expressed in terms of perceived national interests. This is why we also have within the framework of our commonwealth of socialist states countries which are resolutely proceeding along the road of reforms, states which embark on this path cautiously and slowly, and states which have not embarked on this path. I believe that we should regard this as a natural situation. It certainly influences the nature of mutual relations and the shape of the external policy of the entire commonwealth. As a consequence of it, the process of establishing a consensus in the matter of "[joint] bloc actions" has lengthened and become more complex. We note this in various forums of multilateral cooperation by the socialist states, such as, for example, in the work of the organs of the Warsaw Pact or the CEMA. Despite the increasing degree of difficulty in finding common settlements, their operation has become more authentic, and is the result of compromises between the parties. We may also observe that on fundamental issues, such as the policy on the issues of peace and security of nations, the consent of partners is obtained faster and easier than, say, in designing a joint economic policy. I believe that the latter issue affects, among other things, the status of relations between the CEMA and the EEC. As is known, coordination of the economic policy of the EEC countries is very far advanced, and it facilitates markedly tremendous progress in the process of integrating the economies and societies of these countries. However, I hope that, as time goes by, we will also come to appreciate our common interests in carrying out a coordinated policy in the sphere of international economic relations. The interdependence of the contemporary world, which is particularly visible on our continent, and the global nature of some challenges to humanity, such as, say, the danger to the natural environment of man, call for a higher, supranational level for coordinating the policy of all European states. Such an opportunity is provided for us by the advancing process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which may be crowned by building "the common European house." I believe we may recognize these to be common goals not only in the dimension of interests of the existing blocs, regardless of differences in the implemented models of development of the socialist states, regardless of systemic differences among all states of our continent.

I believe that on this key issue the current "unity of variations" does not weaken the power of joint actions by the commonwealth in the international arena.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] The opening of Poland to all sides affects primarily our relations with the West; we are talking about returning to Europe. What are the prerequisites for such evolution?

[Olechowski] I would like to recall that Europe has always been central to the foreign policy of Poland; it was the natural medium for the international activities of our state. The so-called return to Europe primarily means ending the stage of rebuilding the infrastructure of international relations of Poland on the old continent. It is accompanied by a profound appreciation of the European past, and the desire to search vigorously for ways to shape the future fate of the continent. The Europe we want is a cooperating and secure Europe. However, in order for these desires to have a stable foundation in our foreign policy, we proceed from the following premises:

First, the development of multifaceted bilateral cooperation among all European states; second, the need for a continuous political dialogue between the states of the two political and military blocs; third, the development of existing and creation of new forms of multilateral cooperation; fourth, cooperation with a view to counteracting dangers common for all states, e.g., ecological; fifth, counteracting the exacerbation of economic and technological divisions.

An increase in the appreciation of the European identity should be a factor binding all of these elements together. After all, regardless of the differences among European peoples, there is a common European cultural heritage.

The way toward unity lies through overcoming artificial divisions which are creatures of the cold war period, through stabilizing political relations, basing them on stable foundations, making them "resistant" to fluctuations in the political climate of the world, including all members of the European community in cooperation and dialogue.

Making such changes on the continent is in our common European interest.

Europe, which the world perceived for a long time as a region of confrontation and tensions spilling over to other areas, may and should become an initiator and "a good example" of changes on a global scale. This is the way for bringing back and "rejuvenating" the old continent, the way toward building our joint, common European home.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Does the "Europocentrism" of sorts in our foreign policy, at a time when the states in other regions are developing most dynamically, pose the danger of retiring to this region, the role of which is declining?

[Olechowski] It is true that the rate of economic development of Western Europe has been below that of other leading centers of the capitalist world, especially in the 1980's, that its competitiveness has declined, that a gap between it and these centers in high-tech spheres of production has increased. However, proceeding from this, one cannot come to the categorical conclusion that the role of Europe has been declining, or that the process of its relative economic lag will be exacerbated.

Intensive processes of integration and restructuring are under way in Europe, especially in its Western part, which will undoubtedly improve the position of the European continent in the world economic race. Western Europe is still an economic power, it is far ahead of other economic areas of the world in international trade, it holds a firm position in basic research, and possesses a great intellectual and demographic potential.

Europe is a natural economic partner for Poland, with a tradition of cooperation dating back several centuries, due to its geographical position, if nothing else. We have similar cultural and technical standards; we have a good idea of differences in technology and civilization which divide us. Our economies are still complementary.

Besides, to use an analogy, we are unfortunately not in the position of a handsome bachelor who chooses partners at a ball at will, and not even in that of a beautiful and wealthy girl whom everybody asks for a dance.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] There was a time when the significance of the UN was questioned; meanwhile, last year saw great successes of this organization in snuffing out conflicts in the world. Is this chance, or good intuition and the use of more stable trends in the development of the world situation?

[Olechowski] During the more than 40 years of its existence, the United Nations Organization has encountered various obstacles to achieving the objectives set forth in its charter. The superpowers shied away from using the UN forum for settling disputes between states in an environment of mutual suspicion and fears. Nonetheless, the UN resolved a number of regional conflicts, while preventing the escalation of others due to "quiet diplomacy." However, the organization was powerless with regard to "open" conflicts, in which superpowers-permanent members of the Security Council were involved in one way or another.

Recent years have brought about a radical change in the evaluations of efficiency of UN activities. Due to the diplomatic involvement of the UN, considerable progress has been registered recently in resolving several regional conflicts.

The year 1988 saw the signing of agreements on Afghanistan and the setting up of a mechanism for its verification (UNGOMAP), a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq conflict and the dispatch of the Military Observer Group (UNIJMOG) to the field, an impulse given to the process of giving independence to Namibia, and the beginning of the UNTAG operation, as well as a companion operation, the UN Angolan Verification Mission (UNAVEM), and the acceptance of the UN plan for settling the problem of Western Sahara.

Several reasons, including the following, contributed to the new opportunities opening for the UN in maintaining international peace and security by using on a broader scale the mechanisms envisaged by the UN charter, mainly the Security Council, but also the office of the General Secretary:

—recognition that at present, in an environment of the danger of nuclear war, achieving political purposes by using military power is not possible;
—beginning of the deideologization of foreign policy in the East, and, thus far to a lesser degree, in the West;
—confirmation of the opportunity for the system of collective security incorporated in the UN Charter to operate efficiently given a concerted action by superpowers-permanent members of the Security Council;
—beginning of the processes of genuine disarmament, and an improvement in Soviet-American relations;
—advancing process of detente in the East-West relations;
—growing interest of superpowers in using multilateral forums, including the UN, in searching for solutions to issues in dispute, especially regional conflicts;
—awareness of the need for jointly combating contemporary challenges and threats, which is only possible through extensive international cooperation.

At present, the UN is the only comprehensive international forum possessing specialized agencies, broad statutory powers, and executive instruments.

The practice of consultations and coordination of positions of the permanent members of the Security Council on conflict situations has become common; also, the cooperation of the Security Council with the general secretary has become closer, thus restoring the ability of the UN in this sphere to discharge its statutory responsibilities in maintaining international peace and security.

The involvement of the UN in resolving regional conflicts should be counted among the priority tasks of this organization in the coming years. This calls for reinforcing the UN capability for conducting peace operations,

as well as for using more frequently instruments such as special missions and good offices of the general secretary, which serve to prevent regional conflicts in particular.

The success of the UN is undoubtedly the result of using skillfully current trends in the development of international relations, and of this organization working on key contemporary problems. Will it continue? We cannot give a completely positive answer to this question at present. We trust that this is going to be the case. This depends on the political will and involvement of all members of this universal organization. In any event, Poland will spare no effort in order to enhance the role and significance of the UN in the contemporary world.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] You have provided an optimistic evaluation of the conference of ministers in Vienna which preceded the beginning of negotiations on confidence-building measures and reductions of conventional arms in Europe; you have pointed out the businesslike and non-confrontational tone of speeches. Could this evaluation also be extended to the preliminary stage of actual negotiations?

[Olechowski] The first round of the Vienna talks confirmed that the good political atmosphere around them may produce good results. Therefore, the achievements of the session of ministers will not be squandered. It is no accident that specific proposals by the states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO were put on the negotiating table of both the 23 and the 35. Participants in the talks immediately embarked on the analysis of their merits. An intensive debate took place with positions being presented, and mutually explained through the method of questions and answers. Most importantly, a constructive tone dominated in the debate. This amounted to trading arguments, not accusations.

There is a considerable field of similarities in the positions of the sides. Also, there definitely are differences, such as, say, the reluctance of NATO to include attack aircraft in initial reductions. However, nobody is dramatizing them. It has never happened in the course of disarmament talks that at the point of departure a complete harmony of views prevailed.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] The speech you made in Vienna is regarded as a methodological manifest of the talks of sorts. How was it received in the diplomatic circles, in the circles of people on whom the success of these negotiations is going to depend to a large degree? What is your assessment of the prospects for disarmament talks?

[Olechowski] In Vienna, I first of all wanted to present our national, Polish point of view on the issues of disarmament and security. Certainly, I could not omit the issue of the mode of conducting talks. After all, I believe that the Vienna talks stand out not only for a new approach to the tasks, and the extent of subject matter and representation, but also for the mode of conducting the discussion, the methodology of building a common understanding. In particular, we should not fail to learn the painful lesson of the "old" Vienna talks on Central Europe.

We are happy that the Polish voice has been heard, that it met with favorable comments. Poland has a considerable claim to playing an important role in Vienna. We are showing from the very beginning that this is going to be constructive activity aimed at securing an agreement quickly. Practical responses by partners are more important than the words of praise. I conclude on the basis of the first round of proceedings by the negotiators that thus far the negotiations have not undermined our reasoning incorporated in the concept of "five principles."

I take an optimistic view of the prospects for negotiations. Coming to an agreement is in the objective interest of all. Such interest, perceived to a greater or lesser degree, must unavoidably be reflected in the progress of work. Certainly, this is not an easy task. There may be, and there certainly will be, slowdowns, but I believe that they will be overcome.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Do you think that in the future the opposition side will also strive to hold discussions on this topic, despite the absence of "an international working group" at the roundtable? In your opinion, will this, in combination with the "socialization" of foreign policy conducted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs within the framework of creating a dimension for integrating society around the superior interests of Poland, reduce the efficiency of operation of the foreign service?

[Olechowski] Indeed, I have already mentioned earlier that, within the framework of the roundtable, it did not become necessary to reevaluate our foreign policy fundamentally. I would like to recall that last November the Advisory Council of the Chairman of the Council of State held a very clear-sighted and broad discussion of Polish foreign policy. Along with many stimuli for actions and food for thought at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this discussion provided for me a confirmation of the general conclusion on the correctness of the premises and avenues of implementation of the foreign policy of our state. I would also like to stress that the Sejm of the current term has shown much interest in both setting policies for, and conducting Polish relations with foreign countries, in the course of which the criticism of us was also voiced.

I expect the newly elected Sejm and the Senate to provide vigorous leadership and supervision of this sphere of state activities. We do not think that any "taboo" topics exist in foreign policy with regard to which an exchange of differing views could not be held. Incidentally, such an exchange occurs in an institutionalized form in the Social Advisory Group of the minister of foreign affairs. I intend to enlarge it by adding a better representation of communities not associated with the current government coalition.

"Socializing" our relations with foreign countries amounts on the part of our ministry to accommodating the growing interest of society in Polish foreign policy, and especially in the benefits which it brings to the country and to the average citizen. We are interested in the broadest possible circles of society having knowledge of the premises for this policy, accepting them, and, where possible, taking part in implementing the policy.

The results of the roundtable will undoubtedly broaden the social base for implementing the foreign policy of the state. New organizations and associations will be formed which may contribute greatly to a better presentation of our affairs, and the Polish reasons of state in the international arena.

We would very much like to see the Polish foreign policy become the ground for integrating our society around the superior interests of the country, and reflect a broad national consensus.

Returning to the question, I do not think that the efficiency of operations by the foreign service will be in danger. We will listen attentively to all statements, proposals, and remarks. I believe that they will give us valuable inspiration for practical steps in relations with our foreign partners.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Which issue appears to be the most difficult for Polish foreign policy?

[Olechowski] The most difficult task is associated with the dilemma of what is to be done in order for our country to be able "to move ahead" as soon as possible, in order to reduce the gap which separates us from the most developed countries.

This is why issues associated with safeguarding our economic interests, resolving the issue of debt, access to modern technologies, and procurement of financing needed for implementing our reforms are the tasks to fulfilling which we devote the greatest effort.

Naturally, not only the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but in effect a majority of government agencies participate in achieving these complex objectives. Naturally, the results of their work depend to a large degree on the extent of approval and support on the part of Polish society.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Our sovereignty and territorial integrity have to be based on both the internal stability and durability of alliances. Does the obvious shortage of the former prompt our allies to look for other options?

[Olechowski] Undoubtedly, in the current international situation, the durability of alliances is one of the main factors ensuring the security of their member states. It is also obvious that the efficacy of alliances depends to a large degree on the status of their participants, and on the compliance of their actions with the obligations assumed.

Nobody is questioning the credibility of Poland as an ally. Moreover, the processes of reforms and the results of the roundtable create prerequisites favoring the emergence of a new, more durable stability. Certainly, they do not entail any changes in the approach of Poland to fulfilling its obligations as an ally, and especially weakening its defense capability which is a necessary factor in the system of mutual aid of the Warsaw Pact states.

Changes under way in Poland are similar to the processes taking place in other allied states, especially in the USSR and Hungary.

These processes are in the long-term interest of the alliance of the Warsaw Pact states, as they play the role of one of the main factors in positive changes in the East-West relations currently under way, and especially in the dialogue on security and cooperation in Europe.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Thank you for the interview.

Criticism of Human Rights Violations Rejected

AU1605085389 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 16 May 89 p 2

["a.u." report: "Human Rights Violations: Romania Rejects Vienna's Advance"]

[Text] Vienna—The Romanian Government has rejected the aide-memoire of the Austrian Government concerning the violation of human rights. Bucharest is not willing to account for internal affairs within the framework of the CSCE mechanism. Bucharest offered Austria a bilateral "roundtable," which, however, must not be anti-Romanian and must not take place within the framework of the CSCE. There is no chance that Vienna will accept this proposal, in which Romania obviously wants to reserve for itself the right to veto the attendance of individual participants.

Parallel to the Austrian initiative, France has also intervened in Romania. In Paris the Romanian foreign minister was summoned to the Foreign Ministry, where he received the request that Romania stop the persecution of dissidents. French President Mitterrand's wife has directly appealed to head of state Ceausescu over the disappearance of a writer [Doina Cornea].

Olteanu Visits Italy, Meets with Bettino Craxi

Olteanu Conveys RCP Greetings

AU1605093589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0847 GMT 16 May 89

["RCP Message to the Congress of the Italian Socialist Party"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Rome, (AGERPRES) 15/5/1989—On behalf of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and of its general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, the participants in the 45th Congress of the Italian Socialist Party [PSI], all the party militants were conveyed a warm message of friendship and the best wishes of success by Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Patrty].

People in Romania, the message reads, are conversant with and follow with interest the activity carried on by the Italian socialists for the promotion of innovative, democratic changes in society, of the Italian people's fundamental interests in progress, freedom and peace. Emphasis is also placed on the fine relations of friendship and cooperation between the RCP and the Italian Socialist Party and the firm belief of the RCP is expressed that, by working in concert, the progressive, democratic forces everywhere can determine a new-type policy in the international life, a policy of detente, understanding and collaboration among all world nations. In this spirit, the belief is expressed that the friendly links between the two parties, set on full equality of rights and noninterference in domestic affairs, on mutual esteem and respect, will further develop, in the interest of the Romanian and Italian peoples, of the continuous strengthening of the traditional ties of many-sided cooperation between Romania and Italy, for the triumph of the cause of peace, disarmament, security and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

After emphasizing that the Romanian people is engrossed in extensive activity for the accomplishment of the targets of the current stage of building the multilaterally developed socialist society, the message shows: While steadily caring about the conditions for the building of the new system, the RCP and Romanian State participate at the same time actively in the efforts for the assertion of the policy of peace, disarmament and collaboration among nations, work for the broad development of the relations with all countries, irrespective of social system, based on the principles of full equality, observance of national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage.

According to the RCP, the peoples and states have to rally their efforts toward achieving a radical change in the world political life, real measures of disarmament conducive to the concomitant elimination of the nuclear and chemical weapons, of all mass destruction means, to halting the nuclear tests, the modernization of the weapons and space militarization, to substantially reducing the conventional weapons, troops and military spending. Romania works for the building of a Europe united in its diversity of social systems, of free and independent nations, for the broad and unhampered development of the collaboration and cooperation among all peoples in the continent.

Romania speaks up for the settlement of the conflicts, of all interstate disputed issues by peaceful means only, by negotiations, for the global settlement of the underdevelopment issues and the establishment of a new world economic order, relying upon equality and equity, that should favour the faster progress of all countries, of the lagging ones first of all.

The Romanian Communist Party, the message stresses in conclusion, attaches great importance to the collaboration with the communist and workers' parties, the socialist, social-democratic parties, the national liberation movements, with other democratic parties and organizations, considering that the solidarity and collaboration of these forces are of great importance in the struggle for peace and social progress, for the building of a world free of weapons and wars, a better and more just world on our planet.

Olteanu Received by Craxi

AU1605093689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0850 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Rome, AGERPRES 16/5/1989—Bettino Craxi, secretary-general of the Italian Socialist Party [PSI], received Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive

Political Committee, secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], who represents the Romanian Communist Party to the 45th PSI Congress. On the occasion, the PSI secretary-general was conveyed a message of salute and best wishes of good health and success in activity from RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

Thanking, Bettino Craxi addressed President Nicolae Ceausescu a message of friendship, together with best wishes of good health and success in his entire activity, of prosperity and peace for the Romanian people.

The PSI secretary-general was handed over during the interview the message of salute addressed to the congress by the Romanian Communist Party.

During the talk, the fine relations between the RCP and PSI, between Romania and Italy were evoked, with emphasis on the mutual wish to develop them on multiple planes.

Information was also exchanged on the two parties' current preoccupations on an internal plane, and views on problems of international life.

Ceausescu Meets Mauritanian Fisheries Minister
AU1505173089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1707 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 15/5/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received on May 15 Deh Ould Cheikh, minister of fisheries and marine economy, special envoy of the chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation, head of state of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Maaouiya Ould Sid' Ahmed Taya.

President Nicolae Ceausescu was handed over a message on the occasion from the chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation, head of state of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and conveyed to the Mauritanian head of state his salute and best wishes of good health and personal happiness, of peace and prosperity for the people of Mauritania.

Questions of development of the relations between Romania and Mauritania were approached during the interview.

Foreign Debt Repayment Cited as 'Great Victory'
AU0905183089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1712 GMT 9 May 89

["The Liquidation of the Foreign Debt—a Great Victory of the Romanian People"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 9/5/1989—An article on the aforesaid theme run in the May 9 issue of "ROMANIA LIBERA" shows Romania's energetic action to repay its entire foreign debt and service to have relied on its strong economic and social development of the last few decades, on the nation's unity of thought and action. That was an enterprise that proved impossible to carry through in the past.

Romania's whole history is strewn with the people's numerous heroic acts of will, which implied sacrifices and were aimed at getting rid of foreign domination. For centuries on end the country had been robbed without mercy and the Romanian people had been brutally prevented from developing, from following a natural historical course. The direct spoliation by the Ottoman, Habsburg and Tsarist empires from late 14th century to 1918 was the equivalent of over 1.2 million kilograms of gold. Adding to it was the imperialist spoliation that, in 80 years alone, drained Romania of assets worth more than 100 billion dollars. Furthermore, there was the rapacity and onerous practices employed by capitalist banks that rounded off their profits by spoliating the Romanian people, who was compelled to repay sums of money that were several times larger than those borrowed. It is 125 years on August 22 since the Romanian State's first foreign loan. From then on we have always been in debt. Thirty-eight years after the first credit attained by ruler Alexandru Ioan Cuza from a London bank and as compared with the total (equivalent) sum of 1.45 billion lei from loans made abroad (the nominal value of which amounted to 2.33 billion lei) Romania effectively paid back 310 million lei, but it paid about 1.4 billion lei (a new type of tribute) on interest charges, losses in interest, currency fluctuations, commissions, a.o. In that way, on April 1, 1902 it was still in debt, having to pay back close to 1.4 billion lei.

This state of affairs did not change in the four decades that followed—something that was also caused by an improper destination of loans and by the incapacity of the bourgeois-landlord regimes to solve that stringent, ever more complicated issue. The foreign debit balance continued to increase, culminating with 127 billion lei in April 1933, which entailed a very difficult financial situation, paving the way for a more marked foreign control and for the interference of monopolist trusts in the country's economic and political life. Against the background of such-like difficulties, adding to which was the direct Hitlerite spoliation (an uneven balance of trade that ended in 94 billion lei in 1944, which Germany did not pay back, the failure to pay tariffs, taxes and rates and commodities without equivalent, a.o., the total value of which stood at 446 million dollars at the exchange rate of 1938) it was natural that early in 1945 this country was an underdeveloped country that encountered a myriad of unsolved problems.

In his exposition before the great democratic forum of November 1988, the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, unveiled other difficulties our people was confronted with after August 23, 1944 and showed that the only option providing for Romania's strength and prestige, for the

consolidation of its status as a free, independent and sovereign country had been and was the powerful development of the forces of production, on the basis of the latest gains in contemporary science and technology.

The highly valuable concept worked out by the Ninth Congress of the RCP of 1965, that was decisive for Romania's future, was the establishment of an optimal rate of accumulation for development; whereas in the five year plan period spanning 1956-1960 it stood at 17.1 percent, after 1965 the weight of the accumulation fund in the national income rose to 29.5 percent over 1966-1970, and then to 33.7 and 35.3 percent in the next two decades until 1980 standing at roughly 30 percent after that date. That was the source behind the continuous rise in investment in the national economy and, with that as a basis, in the value of fixed assets—from 460.4 billion lei in 1965 to 3,367.7 billion lei in 1988. It was also the source of the increases of the working personnel from 4,350,300 in 1965 to more than 7,843,000 in 1988, of the industrial production—roughly 7.2 times in 1988 as against 1965, of the overall farm output—by 2.56 times over the same period, and of the national income—of more than fivefold.

The repayment of the foreign debt called for great effort, the newspaper "ROMANIA LIBERA" writes, but we managed relying on the strength that was created through the powerful development of the forces of production and because the loans taken from abroad were exclusively used for development, not for other purposes. We relied on the capacity of our economy to export better and better, competitive products. The volume of this type of products in the total Romanian exports increased over 1966-1988 roughly 18 times, which compares with 7.2 times representing the growth of industrial production. We replaced more imports with products made in this country, which led to surpluses in all the years after 1980—totaling more than 19 billion dollars.

These are figures, the newspaper writes in conclusion, that we hope to explain how we managed to repay our debts. Beyond these figures, however, there are the capacity of the working class, of Romanian experts and scientists to solve all technical problems, the creative power of the working people, their unflinching belief that the country's future is not an utopia but an attainable target.

Hydropower Development on Trotus River Discussed
AU1505132289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0911 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 15/5/1989—Once the hydropower development of the Bistrita and Siret Rivers is completed, a third watercourse in Bacau County, the Trotus, is to be harnessed to produce energy. Works started along the Casin River, a tributary of the Trotus, where five micropower stations with an installed power of 895 kw are being built. Three of them have already been commissioned and the other two are to go on stream in the next months. The possibility to build a number of 14 microhydropower stations along the Oituz River, another tributary of the Trotus, is being considered. The first of these, the Ferastrau microhydropower station, has started producing energy.

The most important hydropower works are to be executed on the Trotus. A first study in this respect provides for its hydropower development upstream Comanesti town along more 20 km. [sentence as received]

In this sector, a number of ten low power electric stations (200-3,600 kw) are to be built to produce annually more than 29 million kwh of electric energy.

Works are in an advanced stage at the low power plant of Caralita, of 1,000 kwh. The three turbogenerators of the station will annually produce about four million kwh of electric energy. Recently works have started at the Ciobanus low power electric station. The following three low power electric plants Straja I, Straja II and Straja III—are derivation power stations.

There is no staff to operate all the low power electric stations on the Trotus and the power units are to be automatically controlled by the water level.

The mentioned hydropower electric plants are part of the first stage of the power development of the Trotus, and in the next stage, such works are to be performed upstream and downstream.

New SFRY Presidency Holds First Session

LD1505182889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1252 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG)—Today, at exactly noon, in the Palace of Federation the first session of the SFRY Presidency in its new composition was held. Janez Drnovsek, SFRY presidency member from the Slovenian Socialist Republic was elected president for the next term. Borisav Jovic, SFRY Presidency member from the Serbian Socialist Republic was elected vice-president.

According to the code of regulations on the work of the Yugoslav Presidency, the session was opened by the former president, Raif Dizdarevic. Addressing the session on his own behalf and on behalf of the members of the former Presidency, Dizdarevic congratulated the new members on their appointments.

The SFRY Presidency members from Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia were missing.

In his short formal address Raif Dizdarevic said:

The Presidency has been working in extremely complex and difficult conditions. The future and our future development will assess its efforts, methods, the conditions in which it operated and its accomplished. We are not the ones to do this.

We pass our duty onto you at this very complex juncture when the demands and aspirations of our country's citizens are concentrated at overcoming difficulties, the stabilization of the situation, the embarking on the path of development and realization of reforms, the economic one in the first place, at overcoming discords and divisions, nationalisms of all hues, separatist tendentions, and the attempts at changing the constitutionally established socialist system and the relations of equality and common responsibility.

We pass our duty to you at the juncture when the demands and aspirations of the citizens are being directed toward further democratization in social relations, which should serve direct influence and participation of the working people and citizens of socialist self-managing democracy, and toward the consolidation of unity of our Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, its security and defense abilities, the capability to defend itself from everything and every person who threatens its integrity, its federal system, the fruits of the revolution and its socialist democratic way of development in the time of necessary efforts at consolidating Yugoslavia's international reputation and position.

In all these efforts of yours, in everything that the SFRY Presidency in new composition will be engaging itself, in keeping with the constitutional status of the Presidency, we wish you a great deal of sucess, we wish you success in your unity and togetherness with all the country's social factors and that the years of your term be more fruitful and the coming period be better, in its harvest of past and future efforts, than the present.

I repeat once again our best wishes for your successful work for the good of our SFRY.

According to the order established by the rules of procedure for the SFRY Presidency on the basis of the SFRY Constitution, the Presidency elected Dr Janez Drnovsek president and Dr Borisav Jovic vice-president for the next 1-year mandate.

Taking up the office, Dr Drnovsek expressed thanks on his behalf and on the behalf of vice-president Jovic for the election, and then, said the following in Slovene:

First of all I wish to express thanks to the outgoing Presidency on behalf of the newly elected members of the Presidency for their zealous and responsible accomplishment of complex duties in the highest-ranking organ of our country in the preceding 5-year period. I am convinced that you all agree with the assessment that this was a difficult period and that a great deal of problems, whose causes date back a long time, accumulated during this period. The dimensions of these problems have been revealed only in recent years. It is difficult to assess the success of the activity of the highest-ranking state organ, but it is not our task: This will be done by working people and history, both for the outgoing Presidency and for us, the new Presidency.

I am deeply convinced that difficulties which our society encountered in the past period result from the fact that our complex socioeconomic system did not succeed in adapting fast enough to changed conditions in the world, so that our economy lost its dynamics and was not capable of making an adequate response to additional economic pressures we faced in the past 5 years.

In the past 5 years Yugoslavia felt all the negative consequences of the world debt crisis and the exacerbation of the international conditions of economic activity, which were also felt by numerous other developing countries. Our progress has been halted, the standard of our people has fallen, social tensions have increased, inflation has gone rampant and presents an additional burden on efficient economic activity. Political relations among our nations and nationalities have also become exacerbated, which to a great deal can be connected with exacerbated material divisions.

In response to such negative trends, a reform of the economic system which, however, has still not been completed, was initiated during the mandate of the outgoing Presidency and that of its predecessor. In the recent period the work on implementing the economic reform according to the market laws, which should lead to a higher degree of economic efficiency, has intensified. I am convinced that our new Presidency will take over the baton from the outgoing Presidency with

responsibility and that it will try to complete efficiently the processes already initiated jointly with other appropriate organs, in particular with the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council. We are all facing very complex tasks, the revival of economic growth, halting of inflation, and a simultaneous development of the economic and political system. We ar all aware of the difficulties in implementing all these tasks simultaneously, but today in Yugoslavia we are in a situation where there is no alternative to this. Because of this, it is necessary to maximize the activity of all potentials of our working people, free their entire creativity, of which I am convinced, there is a great deal in our country. We will also need special constructive cooperation among all our people, our nations and nationalities.

I am deeply convinced that other members of the Presidency agree with me when I point out our personal responsibility to try to again establish such understanding between our nations and nationalities that would create conditions for their real togetherness on the principles of mutual respect and equality, that is, on the principles which were the basis for the foundation of our joint state. As much as it is in our power we will do everything for Yugoslavia to be a more democratic country, which will fully use its experience in developing self-managing socialism so that the rights of every individual would be protected in it and no nation or nationality will experience inequality.

Like the outgoing Presidency, the new Presidency will devote special attention to the consolidation of the international posiiton and prestige of Yugoslavia. We will complete preparations for the nonaligned summit conference and I am convinced that its success and the role of the chair in the movement will present contributions toward dealing with international conflicts and detente in the world. Besides maintaining an active role of Yugoslavia in the movement, we will intensify cooperation between Yugoslavia and the developed world, in particular with Europe.

Allow me, in conclusion, to wish on behalf of the members of the new Presidency and myself, to comrades whose mandate in the SFRY presidency expires today, a great deal of success, health, and personal satisfaction.

TANJUG Profiles New Presidency Members

LD1505124889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1114 GMT 15 May 89

["Members of the Presidency of Yugoslavia—Profiles"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, May 15 (TANJUG)—Janez Drnovsek Ph.D. (economics), Presidency president, born on May 17, 1950 in Celje, Slovenia. Of Slovenian nationality. Graduated economic and specialized at the Institute of International Economics in Oslo, obtained doctors degree in Washington with a thesis titled "The IMF and Yugoslavia," member of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] since 1974. Delegate to the Federal Assembly Chambre of Republics and Provinces from 1984. Worked as an economist at the development department's [word indistinct] building materials factory in Zagorje, head of the economic department of the Zasavje Construction Company. Assistant economic counsellor at the Yugoslav Embassy in Cairo, Egypt, head of the organization and Economics Department and member of the Management Board for marketing and development of the Beton-Zasavj Construction Company. Director of Ljubljanska Banka-Osnmvna Banka Zasavje in Trbovlje.

Socio-political activities: Delegate to the Assembly of Slovenia Socio-Political Chamber. Member of the Republican Council of the Slovenia Trade Union Federation and chairman of its commission for international affairs. At the invitation of the U.S. Government gave lectures at several universities on the debt crisis and Yugoslavia. Speaks English, French, Spanish and German.

Borisav Johiv, Ph.D. (economics), Presidency vice-president, born on February 19, 1928 in Niksic, Serbia. Of Serbian nationality. Member of the LCY since 1951. Graduated from Belgrade University School of Economics in 1952, obtained doctors degree in 1965. Director of the Planning Administration of the Kragujevac District, commercial and financial director of the Crvena Zastava automotive plant from 1953 to 1963. Held responsible positions at the Chamber of Economy of Serbia, republican secretariat for industry and trade, director of the Republican Planning Administration. Member of the federal government and director general of Federal Social Planning Administration from 1971 to 1980. Permanent delegate to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Ambassador to Italy. President of the Social Council for Economic Development and Policy of Serbia, member of Serbia's delegation to the Federal Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces, vice-president of the Assembly of Serbia from 1980 to 1986. Member of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia from June 1986 to 1988. President of the Assembly of Serbia from May 1988 until his election to the Presidency of Yugoslavia. Was a member of the group which drafted the long-term economic stabilization program, member of Serbia's commission for economic reform and the federal government commission for reform of the economic system. Speaks Italian and Russian. Publications: Several books and studies on the economic system, economic development and policy.

Nenad Bucin, B.A. (literature), born on July 31, 1934 in Kotor, Montenegro. Of Montenegrin nationality. Joined the LCY in 1953. Teacher at the Merchant Marine school in Kotor from 1960 to 1968. Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the LC [League of Communists] of Montenegro from 1969 to 1974. President of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Montenegro from 1974 to 1980. Member of the Presidency of the LC of Montenegro from 1980 to

1982. Secretary of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia from 1982 to 1984. Member of the Presidency of the Federal Conference from 198 [year indistinct] to 1986. President of the Federal Conference Presidency (one-year term from May 1986 to May 1987), member of the Presidency from 1987 until his election to the Presidency of Yugoslavia. Honors: Order of Labour with Golden Wreath, Order of Brotherhood and Unity with Golden Wreath.

Riza Sapungjiu, B.A. (economics), born in Pec, Kosovo, in 1925. Of Albanian nationality. Active in people's liberation war from October 1, 1944. Joined the Communist Party on April 1, 1945. Vice-president of the Pec Commune and director general of the leather and footwear combine in Pec. Member, vice-president and president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of Pec. Director general of the Kosovo mining and chemical combine. Director of Kosovska Banka. Delegate to the World Bank from October 1982 and later one of its executive directors. Governer of the National Bank of Kosovo. Speaks English, honors include: Order of Military Merit with Golden Swords, Order of Merit for the People with Silver Rays, Order of Brotherhood and Unity with Golden Wreath.

Stipe Suvar, Ph.D. (sociology), born on February 17, 1936 in Zagvozd, Crotia. Of Croatian nationality. Member of the LCY since 1955. Graduated from Zagreb University Law School in 1960, obtained doctorate in 1965. Editor-in-chief of STUDENTSKI LIST from 1956 to 1961. Research fellow at the Agrarian Institute from 1961 to 1965. Director of the institute from 1965 to 1968. Editor-in-chief of NASEMTEME journal from 1968. Part-time assistant professor at the Zagreb faculty of philosophy in 1967 to become full professor in 1982. Socio-political activities: Member of district committee of the youth organization of Croatia. Member of the Presidency of the University Student Council. Member of the Central Committee of the youth organization. Member of the Main Board of the Socialist Alliance of Croatia. Member of the Executive Council of the Assembly of Croatia and president of the Republican Committee for education, culture and physical culture from 1974 to 1982. Member of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia in 1972. President of the LC of Croatia Committee for Ideology and Culture. Member of the Presidency of the Zagreb City Committee of the LC. Member of the Presidency of the LC of Croatia Central Committee from 1982 to 1986. Elected to the Central Committee of the LCY and its Presidency in 1986. President of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee from June 29, 1988. Publications: 18 books and numerous studies in political sociology and agrarian policy. Nin award for "School and Factory" in 1977. Bozidar Adzija award for "Between Hamlet and Megapolis" in 1974. Honors: Order for Merit for the People with the Silver Rays, Order of Labour with Silver Wreath, Order of Brotherhood and Unity with Silver Wreath.

Dragutin Zelenovic, Ph.D. (mechanical engineering), born on May 19, 1928 in Sirig, Vojvodina. Of Yugoslav nationality. Joined the Communist Youth Alliance in 1945 and the Communist Party on May 17, 1948. Graduated from the secondary technical school in Novi Sad in 1949. From Belgrade University School of Mechanical Engineering in 1957. Obtained masters degree in 1972 and doctorate in 1975. Worked at the Jugoalat tools factory in Novi Sad from 1957 to 1965. At the machine tools and tools institute in Novi Sad from 1965 to 1966. Lecturer at the Novi Sad faculty of mechanical engineering from 1966, associate professor from July 1971 to 1976, full professor at the faculty of technology from 1976-[no end date as received]. Vice dean of R&D at the mechanical engineering faculty from 1970 to 1973. Dean of the faculty of technical sciences in Novi Sad from 1975 to 1979.

TANJUG Explains Rotating Presidency System

LD1305221789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2100 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 13 (TANJUG)—The two chambers of the Yugoslav Parliament will hold a joint session on Monday, at which they will proclaim the country's new State Presidency.

This year's electoral procedure did not follow the usual course in all the six republics and two provinces, so that, for the first time, the collective head of state will be sworn in incomplete.

The oath on Monday will be taken by Nenad Bucin of Montenegro, Stipe Suvar of Croatia, Borisav Jovic of Serbia, Riza Sapunxiu of Kosovo, Dragutin Zelenovic of Vojvodina and Janez Drnovsek of Slovenia. Presidency members from Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia will be elected subsequently, probably by early July.

Yugoslavia's fifth State Presidency will enter upon its duties on May 16. Under the present rotating system, the new president for a one-year term will be Janez Drnovsek, who will be succeeded next year by this year's vice-president Borisav Jovic.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia is elected for a period of five years, and each member is eligible for one re-election.

This year's election procedure differed somewhat from the usual practice.

Constitutional amendments have provided for the socialist alliance federal conference to also have a say in the matter of electing the State Presidency. Consequently, the republican and provincial socialist alliance conferences declared themselves not only on the candidates from their respective federal units, but on all the nominees.

Slovenia and Montenegro elected their candidates in a referendum by secret ballot. Macedonia will follow suit.

The institution of Presidency of Yugoslavia was established under 1971 constitutional amendments. It was made up of three members from each of the six republics and two members from each of the two provinces. Under the 1974 Constitution, each republic and province delegated one member to the State Presidency. This principle was observed until the death in 1980 of Josip Broz Tito, who had been president of the republic and Presidency president for life, and during whose life only vice-presidents were rotated each year.

The office of the president of the republic died with Tito. The office of president of the State Presidency has so far been held by Lazar Kolisevski, Cvijetin Mijatovic, Sergej Kreigher, Petar Stambolic, Mika Spiljak, Veselin Djuranovic, Radovan Vlajkovic, Sinan Hasani, Lazar Mojsov and Raif Dizdarevic.

The members of the outgoing presidency, elected in 1984, are Radovan Vlajkovic, Sinan Hasani, Stane Dolanc, Josip Vrhovec, Lazar Mojsov, Nikola Ljubicic and Raif Dizdarevic.

The only Presidency members to be changed in the past five years were those from Bosnia-Hercegovina. Branko Mikulic, who had been elected originally to this Presidency, left this body when he was appointed prime minister. He was succeeded by Hamdija Pozderac who later resigned and was in turn succeeded by the current member and presidency president over the past year Raif Dizdarevic.

Under the existing rotating system, the office of Presidency president for one year will be held by Slovenia, to be succeeded by Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, Vojvodina, Kosovo, Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Federal Assembly Elects, Appoints Officials

Gligorijevic Elected President

LD1505175789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1639 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 15 (TANJUG)—Dr Slobodan Gligorijevic was elected today new president of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). For the first time the election was carried out by secret ballot cast by delegates for several candidates.

This morning, in the first round of voting, none of the two candidates (the other was director of the Crvena Zastava works in Kragujevac, Dr Radoljub Micic) obtained the necessary majority of votes.

Dr Slobodan Gligorijevic, 69, who will hold this post for a year's term, is a doctor of economic sciences and professor in Belgrade University. He had participated in the national liberation war since its beginning in 1941. He occupied different posts, including those of the general director of the Central Bank of Yugoslavia, president of the Assembly of Yugoslavia's largest republic Serbia, member of the federal government, delegate in the chamber of the republics and provinces, and since 1986 he has been delegate to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

Economist Suada Muminagic, 48, delegate from the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina was elected president of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber.

Dr Miran Mejak, 62, delegate from the Republic of Slovenia, was elected president of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces.

Muminagic Elected Vice President

LD1505135189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1310 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG)—Suada Muminagic, delegate from Bosnia-Hercegovina to the Chamber of Republic and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, is the new vice president of the highest organ of authority in Yugoslavia.

Today in a secret ballot she won 107 votes in the Federal Chamber and 56 in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. Her rival, Mirzeta Arnautovic, delegate from the same republic got 68 and 26 votes, respectively.

Federal Chamber Chooses President

LD1505173289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG)—Bogdana Glumac-Levakov, delegate from the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, was today elected president of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber in a secret ballot. A total of 141 delegates voted for her and 36 for her rival, Djurica Lancuski.

Lazo Tesla was elected vice president of the Federal Chamber. He received 116 votes with his rival Janko Pocuca getting 55. Both candidates come from the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

Chamber Appoints Court Officials

LD1505202889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1646 GMT 15 May 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG)—At a session held today delegates in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly elected new officials.

"The chamber then elected Dusan Strbac, a judge in the Yugoslav Constitutional Court, as president of this court, and Ljubomir Prljeta, advisor in the FEC, as federal public prosecutor. Dr Spiro Vukovic, until now deputy public prosecutor in Serbia, and Zijah Zagorcic,

until now deputy public prosecutor in Vojvodina, were appointed deputy president of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court and deputy federal public prosecutor, respectively."

EEC Official Discusses SFRY Inclusion

LD1505210789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1904 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 15 (TANJUG)—Out of the three necessary conditions (geographical, political, economic) for admission to the European Community (E.C.), Yugoslavia fulfils only the geographical one—stated today director for the Mediterranean countries and Yugoslavia in the E.C. Commission Eberhard Rhein, now on a two-day working visit to Yugoslavia.

Rhein told a news conference here that the overbureaucratized Yugoslav economy at this time was not yet ready to join united Europe of 1992. He, however, favourably assessed political and economic processes in Yugoslavia and stressed that they were closely monitored by the E.C. which would take the final decision on Yugoslavia's admission depending on the further course of the process.

Eberhard Rhein is in Yugoslavia on the occasion of the opening of the E.C. documentation centre at the Belgrade Institute for International Politics and Economics. With Yugoslav officials, he will hold informal consulations on Yugoslavia's joining the E.C. and on the forthcoming summit of nonaligned countries in Belgrade.

The E.C. shall later decide at which level it will be represented at the nonaligned summit in Belgrade next September.

Rhein was received today by assistant Yugoslav Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr Srdjan Kerim [name and title as received] and by republican Secretary of Serbia for Relations with Other Countries Dr Aleksandar Prlja.

They discussed the inclusion of Yugoslavia into the economic currents of the E.C., the development of an information system as the prerequisite for mutual cooperation, and the problems concerning Yugoslavs who seek asylum in other European countries.

SFRY To Chair Nonaligned Movement Summit

Loncar on Preparing Summit

AU1505151989 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 May 89 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Summit in Belgrade—New Chance for Nonaligned Countries"]

[Text] "Performing the role of host of the ninth summit (of nonaligned countries) and successfully chairing the movement during the next 3 years are the key factors for gradually regaining shaken credibility and strengthening Yugoslavia's role in the world." This was stressed yesterday by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, at the second session of the Yugoslav Committee for Preparing the Ninth Summit.

Federal Secretary Loncar stressed the seriousness of the preparations—both political and organizational—for the forthcoming nonaligned summit in Belgrade. He assessed the current preparations as successful.

Speaking in great detail about changed conditions in the world, characterized primarily by a relaxation in relations between the big powers and the orientation toward dialogue, Loncar stressed that the Nonaligned Movement is given a new chance in these new conditions to affirm and strengthen its role. It will achieve this by modernizing its activities. This is not only the Yugoslav view; this is the view that is widely supported throughout the nonaligned world and outside it. To prove that the call for the modernization of the movement is being positively received in the world, Budimir Loncar said that, within the preparations for the summit, Yugoslavia has conducted consultations with 60 countries, including 15 leading countries from the West and East. These consultations, Loncar said, showed that the orientation toward the modernization of the movement has been confirmed.

In his opening speech, Loncar also briefed the Committee about Yugoslavia's preparations for the meeting of the Coordination Bureau of Nonaligned Countries held in Harare this month.

Pointing out that we are entering the final and decisive stage of preparations ("There are 3 months and 22 days before the summit"), Loncar said that in this period we must accomplish three things:

"Reinforce unanimity and readiness for the full involvement of the leading circle of the most prominent countries with respect to the concept of the modernization of the movement of nonaligned countries. In other words, ensure that documents and their accompanying papers and resolutions are accepted;

"Become active and attentive, and reduce the possible tendency for particularist and one-sided views that stem from the positions held in certain parts of the world, which is to say some countries, from being imposed on the summit. This is something that could, of course, burden our aims. Conduct an as wide as possible dialogue in order to gain a better insight and satisfy the rights and justified vanity of some small countries for the greatest possible number. [sentence as published] This should be done through KB [expansion unknown] in New York and our diplomatic-consular offices throughout the world, particularly in nonaligned countries, as well as through foreign diplomatic-consular offices in Belgrade. In all this the important thing is to organize the

core of the most active and most able nonaligned countries while at the same time maintain the balance via dialogues with the widest possible circle of nonaligned countries."

Preparatory Meeting Held 15 May

LD1505184789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1716 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Harare, May 15 (TANJUG)—At the preparing meeting here today a ministerial conference of the coordinating bureau of the nonaligned, Yugoslavia was unanimously elected to co-chair the conference bureau. [as received]

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) would preside over the economic committee.

Zimbabwe, the present chairman of the movement of nonalignment, had drafted extensive political and economic documents, but the Pakistani representative suggested a "brief, concise and action-oriented document" about which accord was only to be reached later.

A ministerial-level committee for the modernization of the movement of nonalignment should sit tomorrow (this committee was set up at the ministerial meeting in Nicosia last September). Cyprus Foreign Minister Yeoryios Iakovou would present the committee's suggestions to change the methods and ways of action of the nonaligned on the world political and economic scene.

During the sitting of the ministerial conference of the coordinating bureau between May 17 and 19, the nonaligned "nine-member committee" on Palestine should also meet in session.

Loncar Leaves for Talks

LD1505211389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2001 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, today left Belgrade for Harare at the head of a Yugoslav delegation to the ministerial meeting of the nonaligned countries' coordinating bureau, to be held in Harare 18-19 May. The meeting will be the largest gathering of the nonaligned countries before their Belgrade summit meeting in September. It will be a form of rehearsal for the summit conference.

The nonaligned countries are expected in Harare to adopt stands on major political and economic issues. These stands will be further amended and finally adopted at the Belgrade summit. Among the issues to be discussed are those of modernizing the activity of the nonaligned movement in the light of current trends in international relations; prospects for enhancing economic cooperation between the nonaligned and other developing countries; and the whole set of problems of resolving the debt crisis in the world.

Loncar Meets, Holds Talks With Kuwaiti Leaders

LD1005170789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1407 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Kuwait, 10 May (TANJUG)—Three leading Kuwaiti personalities: Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad, the amir of Kuwait; Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah, heir apparent and prime minister; and Sabah al-Ahmad, deputy prime minister and foreign minister; today received, in separate visits, Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar, and members of his delegation. The delegation arrived here late last night.

The chronological order of these contacts and talks indicate the significance which Kuwait attaches not only to the exchange of views with Yugoslavia, but also to the need to advance bilateral relations in many fields.

During all these meetings and talks which were also attended by Hasan Dervisbegovic, our ambassador in Kuwait, Budimir Loncar was assured that Kuwait will fully contribute to the preparations for and the running of the ninth conference of the heads of state and government of nonaligned countries in Belgrade.

Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad, amir of Kuwait, stressed his country's great confidence in Yugoslavia as the host of the ninth summit meeting of the leaders of nonaligned countries' leaders. In this context a wide-ranging and comprehensive exchange of views was conducted on regional and international problems which are at the moment weighing heavily on the modern world.

Preparations for the Belgrade summit were practically the only topic of talks which Budimir Loncar had with his host Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad, Kuwaiti deputy prime minister and foreign minister. On this occasion the two ministers devoted particular attention to the coming meeting of the nonaligned countries coordinating bureau in Harare and to the need to step up consultations between the two countries in the period up to the Belgrade summit.

Both sides emphasized great proximity of views on the movement's role and potential in present conditions and on the need to modernize it and make it more efficient. At the same time the two sides agreed that the Belgrade meeting should be an action-oriented, working gathering, which would replace an earlier tendency to pronouncements and long-windedness with an efficient action in the political, economic and other spheres of activity. Clearly-formulated tasks and obligations will ensure that the September meeting in Belgrade proceeds in a constructive atmosphere, without any polarizations and conflicts, it was said.

Talks between Budimir Loncar and Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah, heir apparent and prime minister, mainly focussed on analyzing bilateral cooperation up to now and, in particular, on the necessary measures to expand

it comprehensively. Shaykh Sa'd assessed in very positive terms the work done so far by our work organizations on numerous investment projects in Kuwait. He stressed that their presence in his country should be even greater. In this context he drew attention to certain mistakes in the way some of the jobs had been carried out adding that this should not happen again. We want to cooperate, he said—the rest depends on you.

Our federal secretary informed the Kuwaiti prime minister in greater detail about our efforts to consolidate our political and economic situation. In this context he emphasized Kuwait's potential role in realizing many investment projects in Yugoslavia which, by the new law on foreign investment, will open its doors to foreign investors.

The Kuwaiti prime minister expressed his support for such Yugoslav efforts by saying that his country will contribute to Yugoslavia's attempts to overcome the present economic difficulties.

Today Kuwaiti Foreign Minister Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad gave a formal lunch for Budimir Loncar and members of the Yugoslav delegation. On that occasion, toasts were exchanged and talks took place about all aspects of improving cooperation and relations between the two friendly and nonaligned countries.

Presidency Sends Message to Iraqi President

AU1005151389 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 May 89 p 2

[TANJUG report: "SFRY Presidency's Message for Saddam Husayn"]

[Text] Belgrade, 4 May—Tariq 'Aziz, deputy prime minister and minister for foreign affairs of Iraq, today received SFRY Ambassador Stojan Andonov, who handed him a message from the SFRY Presidency for President Saddam Husayn. The message refers to some matters concerning relations between the two friendly nonaligned countries.

During their talks, 'Aziz and Andonov positively assessed the development of relations and cooperation until now, and expressed readiness to improve them in all spheres.

They also discussed the preparations for the summit of the heads of nonaligned states scheduled to be held in Belgrade next September.

Serbia's Jovic Visits Bonn, Discusses Visas

False Asylum-Seekers Targeted

AU1005160589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1533 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Bonn, May 10 (TANJUG)—President of West Germany's Parliamentary Foreign Policy Committee Hans Stercken said today that he did not believe that the Federal Republic of Germany would introduce visas for Yugoslav citizens.

I am quite confident that visas would not be introduced, stressed Stercken during a talk with a parliamentary delegation of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, headed by outgoing Assembly President Borisav Jovic.

Even if the government opted for the move, it would not receive parliamentary support, he said.

Opposition representative on the committee and ranking official of the Social Democratic Party Peter Glotz said he fully agreed with Stercken.

Backward moves should not be made at a time when the entire world is moving forward on the question of free travel and abolition of visas, said Jovic.

Jovic, who is soon to take over as vice-president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, said that Yugoslavia has done everything within legal limits to eliminate the problem of the so-called false asylum-seekers. The efforts, he said, have already produced results because last month the number of Yugoslav asylum-seekers in the Federal Republic of Germany declined by two-thirds.

Jovic Holds News Conference

LD1205090589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2024 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Bonn, May 11 (TANJUG)—There exist no real grounds for the reciprocal introduction of visas between Yugoslavia and Federal Republic of Germany, president of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia Borisav Jovic said at a press conference in Bonn today.

The future vice-president of the Yugoslav Presidency, who is heading a delegation of the assembly on a visit to the West German land of North Rhine-Westphalia (from May 9 through 12), said that he had gained the impression from his talks with his hosts that visas would possibly not have to be introduced at all.

Commenting on requests by Yugoslavs to be granted asylum, Jovic pointed out that they were not being made by refugees but persons seeking diverse personal gain for themselves by abusing constitutional regulations of the Federal Republic of Germany some dexterious individuals have managed to turn the problem of asylum seekers into a means of earning money, he said.

Jovic told journalists in Bonn that there were "no ethnic problems which could provoke concern in this republic, although it was inhabited by members of 20 nationalities, one-third of whom were not Serbs.

"We have problems with an ethnic-Albanian separatist movement," he said, adding that the issue at stake was in fact not "an ethnic problem but the integrity of Yugoslavia and its defence."

He pointed out that the ethnic Albanian national minority in Yugoslavia enjoyed all the rights enjoyed by all other nations and nationalities, and that only between fourteen and fifteen thousand ethnic Albanians had taken part in the recent demonstrations in Kosovo, a figure representing only about one per cent of the population.

The special measures introduced in Kosovo on February 27 are intended to protect the human rights and freedoms of Serbs and Montenegrins from "genocidal persecution," Jovic stressed, adding that they had been decided on by the Yugoslav Federation with the agreement of all of its six constituent republics.

Jovic Assesses FRG Talks, Ties

LD1205224289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2155 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 12 (TANJUG)—Assembly of Serbia President Dr Borisav Jovic tonight expressed confidence in the positive resolving of the problem of false asylum seekers from Yugoslavia in the Federal Republic of Germany, which had moved the Bonn government to announce the possible introduction of visas for Yugoslavs.

If Yugoslavia continued consistently to implement the measures it has undertaken against false asylum seekers, there would practically be no need for Bonn to introduce visas for our citizens, Jovic said in Belgrade upon returning from a visit to Federal Republic of Germany. In a statement to TANJUG, Jovic assessed as very successful the visit by an Assembly of Serbia delegation to Dusseldorf and Bonn, at the invitation of the parliament of North Rhine-Westphalia.

Dr Borisav Jovic said the people with whom he had held talks in the Federal Republic of Germany had shown great interest for the political situation in Yugoslavia, and he assessed that this was related to future contacts. Jovic said that it had become evident during the talks that many of them had not been correctly informed about the real situation in Yugoslavia.

In the course of the visit, relations between Yugoslavia and the European Communisty (E.C.) after the year 1992 were also discussed. It was commonly assessed, Jovic said, that there are objectively good conditions for the expansion and divification of cooperation to continue and that there is no need for concern that it might deteriorate after the year 1993.

13 May Mosevac Gathering Draws Warnings, Arrest

Maglaj Committee Issues Communique

LD1205223689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2051 GMT 12 May 89

[Excerpt] Maglaj, 12 May (TANJUG)—The Maglaj Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection [CAPDSSP] is indicating to the working people and citizens of Mosevac and Maglaj the consequences that could be provoked by the heralded gatherings of citizens on 13 May, Security Service Day, according to the committee's communique issued this evening in connection with tomorrow's meeting of Mosevac residents at which, it has been announced, Hasan Delic—for whom an arrest warrant was issued recently—will speak.

The communique says that the Maglaj CAPDSSP is acquainted with the most recent situation in the 25 November local community in Mosevac. In fact, a protest meeting is being organized in Mosevac on 13 May this year at 1200 which will be presided over by Hasan Delic. After this will follow a mass arrival of Mosevac residents and other participants in Maglaj.

At today's assembly of the Mosevac local community, which also was attended by Hasan Delic, an appeal was read out, inviting the citizens of Yugoslavia to a protest meeting in Mosevac and Maglaj with the aim of replacing the municipal leadership and certain officials in the republic and achieving other demands that are aimed, it was stressed, at achieving an antibureaucratic revolution in Bosnia-Hercegovina. All citizens of goodwill in Yugoslavia are invited to participate in this. [passage omitted]

Delic Arrested During Protest

LD1305204789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1516 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Maglaj, 13 May (TANJUG)—At 1600 today, on the outskirts of Maglaj, the security organs arrested Hasan Delic, one of the Mosevac "leaders." Delic was detained on a federal arrest warrant, issued last November for his failure to serve a 7-month prison sentence to which he had been sentenced by the District Court in Maglaj for violent conduct and preventing officially appointed individuals from carrying out their duty.

Delic appeared today at 1400 outside the primary school in Mosevac where a protest meeting had been scheduled to take place at noon. However, a mere hundred or so people gathered, most of them coming from Belgrade, Novi Sad, Cacak, and some other towns. The Mosevljani people themselves failed to respond as only a few dozen of them turned up. Journalists outnumbered the organizers who, at yesterday's assembly of the Mosevac local community, had called on all "freedom-loving" Yugoslavs to join them.

Before his arrest, Delic was marching in a column of participants in the aborted meeting, challenging and provoking the security organs. Afterwards the column, comprising individuals who shouted slogans and protests over this allegedly unlawful act, arrived outside the Municipal Assembly in Maglaj, failing to disperse by 1700.

Delic Arrest Ends Rally

LD1405092589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2136 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Maglaj, May 13 (TANJUG)—A protest rally organized by residents of Mosevac, a village in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, ended today wih the arrest of an official of the commune, Hasan Delic.

Delic, 29, was arrested under a federal warrant issued for his arrest last November for evading to serve his seven-month prison term.

According to official citation, Delic was sentenced for "violent behaviour and prevention of officials in the exercise of their duty". The residents of Mosevac claim, however, that Delic had fled in order to avoid being arrested on false charges. For the past four years, they have been sending numberless petitions to the highest organs in the republic and the federation, in a futile attempt to expose the abuse of authority on the part of the police which is protecting local big-wigs responsible for an embezzlement of public funds.

Some one hundred residents of Mosevac demanded that the affair be concluded by punishing former local and communal officials responsible for the embezzlement of funds raised in a public subscription tax, and that the persecution stop of the local population and their newly-elected officials Hasan Delic and Dzevad Galijasevic, 27.

As the rally was ended with the arrest of Delic, the demonstrators announced for tomorrow a hunger strike outside the federal parliament building in Belgrade.

The conflict between some 1,000 inhabitants of Mosevac and the communal and republican bureaucracy has become synonymous with the struggle for human dignity, justice and political freedoms countrywide. Indications that court and out-of-court procedures did not conform to legal principles keep the case in the limelight.

Dzevad Galijasevic has been pardoned through public protests and efforts of the Yugoslav Forum for Human Rights. At that time it was believed that the Mosevac affair was finally coming to an end, but Delic's arrest has clearly further complicated it.

Sarajevo, Novi Sad Teachers Continue Strike

AU1505145989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 May 89 p 3

[M.L. report: "Secondary School Students on Forced Leave"]

[Text] Sarajevo-Novi Sad, 10 May—Several days ago, the Sarajevo secondary school teachers asked that their two key demands be met: that the basic pay be 2.2 million dinars per month and that their future pay increases be linked to the monthly rate of inflation. Yesterday, out of 28 secondary schools in Sarajevo, 7 were on strike. Today, all schools in the Sarajevo commune of Centar except one are on strike. The self-managing interest community for secondary education yesterday offered a solution according to which the funds for schools in April, May, and June will be increased, but the teachers rejected it because this does not meet their demands.

The city trade union organization said that the schools which are still working also support the demands and that they have announced the possibility of a strike if all the demands are not met within the next 10 days.

Out of 34 elementary schools in Novi Sad, 21 schools involving some 21,000 students and teachers are on a strike. Teachers stopped work this morning and sent students home.

The remaining 13 elementary schools fully support their colleagues. This was stated today by Vesna Reljin, representative of the Coordination Council of the trade union of the Novi Sad elementary schools.

Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium Meets

LD1505203989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1807 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 15 May (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Slovene League of Communists [LC] Central Committee met today to discuss preparations for the 23rd session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee at which the situation in Kosovo and the LCY's tasks are going to be considered. The Presidium is reported to have also discussed the course of preparations for the 11th Congress of the Slovene LC to be held in December this year.

In the course of a debate on constitutional amendments and the work on formulating draft points for new constitutions, the Presidium also considered the work on the document "Slovene Declaration 1989" being prepared by the Slovene Socialist Alliance. The third draft of the document contains a view of society identical to that of the Presidium of the Slovene LC Central Committee and also examines the prospects for Slovenia's future socialist development within the SFRY. In this context the Presidium also came to the conclusion that "May Declaration 1989" (published independently by five people who also took part in the work on "Slovene Declaration 1989") proceeded from different political standpoints. In view of this the Presidium has decided to reject it.

Paper Planned as Precursor of Political Party

LD1505222289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1502 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 15 (TANJUG)—Last week, while making public a document in favour of a multiparty system, the management board of the Writers' Union of the Republic of Serbia, eastern Yugoslavia, accounced

its going to publish THE NEW PUBLIC, a periodical which, in the opinion of the Belgrade daily BORBA, has an ambition to grow into a movement for democracy and, one day, into an independent political party as well.

The initiators of the periodical-to-be, a group of intellectuals around the democratic program of the Writers' Union of Serbia, did not resolutely make a mention of such a possibility, but BORBA, it wrote, gained such an impression from a talk of THE NEW PUBLIC's chief persons.

The initiative for starting THE NEW PUBLIC, a journal to strive for democracy, is not a new one. For the first time it came out in 1980 and the present promoters hope not to undergo the fate of their predecessors—a ban before the start.

The promoters think that THE NEW PUBLIC should be the mouthpiece and organ of a movement for democracy that would be started by a group of citizens, coming out in favour above all of a multiparty system and parliamentary democracy.

Proceeding from the assumption that "the country and society will not be capable of developing under any political monopoly of a party which keeps reforming itself for nearly half a century now," THE NEW PUBLIC's initiators consider, as its editor-in-chief-to-be Prof Dr Zoran Gavrilovic said, that a solution should be found in parliamentary democracy.

If the initiative for starting THE NEW PUBLIC passes through, this periodical should see the light at the beginning of next autumn. Preparations for starting it are in stagnation just now not only for material reasons, but also, as its would-be chief editor Prof Gavrilovic claims, because of "a wide-spread belief that it should be waited a bit for realizing more clearly the results of Milosevic's policy now."

The Serbian intellectuals have not been, at least publicly so far, "in a quarrel" with Slobodan Milosevic, until the other day the president of the League of Serbia's Communists and now the elected president of Yugoslavia's Republic of Serbia.

THE NEW PUBLIC's supporters give priority to a democratic idea over the national one.

"A Serbian democracy does not exist and it would be an anachronism today to speak about a democracy with a national overtone as the Slovenes did with their 'Slovene Democratic Union'," he said.

Dr Gavrilovic also said, as quoted by BORBA, that the problem of Yugoslavia's province of Kosovo can be solved by democracy only.

Some 30,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out of the province since 1981 under various pressures brought to bear all this time by local ethnic Albanian nationalists and separatists. In this province, after the outbreak of demonstrations with elements of armed rebellion last March, emergency measures were introduced and the Yugoslav Army units were kept on alert.

Montenegrin Party Officials Greet Church Leaders

AU1405183689 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 May 89 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Telegrams by the President and Secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro"]

[Text] On the occasion of the consecration of Niksic Church, Momir Bulatovic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro, and Milo Djukanovic, secretary of the Presidium, have sent the following telegram:

"We are using this opportunity to wish you much success in your humane mission of marking secret historic and cultural traditions in Montenegro and for spreading love, respect, and understanding among the people regardless of their religion and their ideological, national, or any other affiliations."

Management Dismisses Striking Radio Journalists

LD1505193189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1711 GMT 15 May 89

[Summary] Sibenik, 15 May (TANJUG)—The temporary management board of Radio Sibenik has dismissed 9 workers out of 13 who went on strike since 28 April for increased pay. The same body provisionally dismissed three other strikers. Three professional and several freelance journalists are working in Radio-Sibenik, so the radio station was able to resume transmitting its programs.

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